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RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN MILITANT NATIONALISM.

BY

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PREFACE.

It is impossible to over-estimate the part played by Tilak and his school in the development of Indian nationalism. Here I have tried to bring out as fully as possible the main tendencies of this virile nationalist school. The Tilak school is a good running commentary on the limitations of the earlier Liberal school of Gokhale and forms a bridge between the earlier school of cultural nationalism of Dayanand Saraswati and Swami Vivekanand and the later Gandhi school of Indian politics. The speeches of Tilak, of Arabindo Ghosh, of B. C. Pal, and of Lala Lajpat Rai are the main source-books of this phase of Indian thought. I am specially indebted to "YOUNG INDIA" by Lajpat Rai.

I am neither trying to criticise nor to justify, but to analyse and explain.

8th March 1940.

M. A. BUCH.

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RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN MILITANT NATIONALISM

In India, political radicalism and social conservatism have gone to some extent hand in hand. The school of new nationalism, which rears its head prominently from 1905, is a mixture of this type. It connects itself on the one hand with the forces which expressed themselves in the Mutiny of 1857 against the British Government, and on the other hand with the movements of religious and social revival started by Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda. It may be best described as Political Extremism or Militant Nationalism.)

I. THE NATIONALIST IDEAS BEHIND THE REVOLT OF 1857.

The Mutiny of 1857 is differently interpreted by different writers. But there has always been a tendency on the part of radical Indians to describe it as a national war of independence. This interpretation was brought into very striking prominence by Mr. Savarkar who wrote a powerful book enforcing this view—a book which has since then been consigned to oblivion by the British Government, because of its strong partisan character. But the version survives and forms the historical background of the new party.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEW PARTY.

What were the real causes which moved the rebels or revolutionaries — call them what you like — and gave them a certain amount of driving power? What were the social or political or religious ideas which inspired the rising of 1857? We are not concerned here with the real

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causes : we are concerned with the theories which moved the sepoys or which are believed to have moved the sepoys by the extremists. These theories may be sound or not : but they did their work in giving life to extremism at least at one time.

The ideals which moved the rebels, we are told, were Swadharma and Swaraj. Commenting upon the Mutiny, Justin McCarthy says:—"The fact was that throughout the greater part of the north and north-west of the great Indian Peninsula, there was a rebellion of the native races against English power. It was not the Sepoys alone who rose in revolt. It was not by any means merely a military mutiny. It was a combination, whether due to the growth of deliberate design and long preparation, or the sudden birth of chance and unexpected opportunity, ~~a~~ combination of military grievance, national hatred, and religious fanaticism, against the English occupiers of India.) The native princes and the native soldiers were in it. The Mohammedan and the Hindu forgot their own religious antipathies to join against the Christian. Hatred and panic were the stimulants of that great rebellious movement. The quarrel about the greased cartridges was but the chance spark flung in among all the combustible material. If that spark had not lit it, some other would have done the work." The Meerut sepoys burst into Delhi and proclaimed the representative of the Great Moghul, the Emperor of India. "They had found in one moment a leader, a flag, and a cause, and the mutiny was transfigured into a *revolutionary war*." Thus they had all "unconsciously seized one of the great moments of history, and converted a *military mutiny* into a *national and religious war*."

In the same way, Charles Ball wrote :—"At length, the torrent overflowed the banks and saturated the moral soil of India. It was then expected that those waves would overwhelm and destroy the entire European element and

that, when the torrent of rebellion should again confine itself within bounds, patriotic India, freed from its alien rulers, would bow only to the independent sceptre of a native prince. It became the *rebellion of a whole people* incited to outrage by resentment for imaginary wrongs and sustained in their delusions by hatred and fanaticism."

There was no doubt a stir for a long time in the minds of both Hindus and Mahommedans that their religion was seriously threatened by the growing inroads of the new order. Now religion has been at all times a powerful force in the affairs of men; but in India it has been perhaps more powerful than anywhere else. Both the Hindu and the Muslim faiths are not mere theologies but also definite social systems. The orthodox Hindu and the orthodox Muslim are the inseparable parts of these social systems: and cannot contemplate their break with them, without a sense of disastrous consequences following in its wake, both now and hereafter. Any attack, direct or indirect, upon these systems, inevitably stirs up either the Hindu or the Muslim, as nothing else does. The whole Indian history is a long record of fights for Swadharma—for the defence or the aggressive assertion of one's own faith. The religion of the people, therefore, has always been the most tender point of their systems, and an danger to it immediately stirs up violent convulsions in society.

The missionary in the eyes of the Hindu and the Muslim was the symbol of the new intended religious conquest of India by Christianity. He was, therefore, very often more hated than an English political official, because of his real or supposed designs to convert or evangelise India. The missionary schools, the missionary preachings roused the wrath of the whole orthodox Indian society. Sir Syed Ahmed wrote:—"They believed that Government intended to force the Christian religion and foreign

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customs upon Hindus and Mussulmans alike. It was supposed that Government would, by making the people deprived of the knowledge of their own faith, work on the cupidity and poverty of its subjects, and on condition of their abjuring their faith, offer them employment in its own service." "It was supposed that when Government had brought...all Hindustanies to a pitch of ignorance and poverty, it would convert them to its own creed."

"It has been commonly believed that Government and the officers of Government throughout the country, were in the habit of giving large sums of money to these missionaries, with the intention of covering their expenses, enabling them to distribute books, and in every way aiding them."

"The missionaries, moreover, introduced a new system of preaching. They took to printing and circulating controversial tracts in a most offensive and irritating way. They used to attend places of public resort, markets, for instance, and fairs, where men of different creeds were collected together, and used to begin preaching there. It was only from fear of the authorities that no one bade them be off on their business. In some districts, the missionaries were attended by policemen from the station...In violent and unmeasured language, they attacked the followers, and the holy places, of other creeds, annoying and insulting beyond expression the feelings of those who listened to them..."

"The missionary schools were started in which the principles of Christian faith were taught. Lads who attended the school used to be asked such questions as the following: 'Who is your God?' 'Who is your Redeemer?' and those questions they were obliged to answer agreeably to the Christian belief—prizes being given accordingly..."

People believed that if their children were entered at the school, they might have employment given them by Government, and be enabled to find some means of subsistence."

"The large colleges established in the towns were from the first a source of suspicion..When a proclamation was issued by the Government to the following effect...whoever had studied and passed an examination in certain sciences and in the English language, and had received a certificate to that effect was to be considered as having prior claims for employment in the public service, this came as a blow to everyone."

Such was the state of the general mind. No wonder that the people who rallied to the standard of the rebels were largely inspired by a strong feeling to stand by and, if necessary, die for the faith of their fathers. Similar was the state of consternation among the sepoys. The very privileges granted to the sepoys on the ground of their religious prejudices or convictions served in many cases as grounds of discontent and revolt when those privileges were later on not conceded for the sake of discipline. Thus the Bengal sepoys were at one time exempted from any liability to be sent across the seas: but when that privilege was taken away from future recruits, the Bengal sepoys resented the loss of a valuable privilege. The incident of the greased cartridges was another instance in point. The sepoy came to believe that his caste and religion were becoming objects of open or insidious attack at the hands of the Government.

The British Government implied a further threat to the existing vested interests by its policy of conquest and annexation. Some of the States which were annexed were no doubt specimens of very bad government: and Lord Dalhousie had some logic on his side when he pushed

the principle of the establishment of British paramountcy and British standards of administration in place of some of the effete tyrannies of the past. But such a violent change did appear revolutionary not only to the princes of India who felt completely the insecurity of their own positions but also to the peoples of India, who were attached to their own rulers, however tyrannical and absurd they might have appeared to the British eye. As Justin says: “‘tyrants, but our masters then were our countrymen,’ is the faithful expression of a sentiment which had embarrassed energetic reformers before the days of Lord Dalhousie. The populations of India became stricken with alarm as they saw their native princes thus successively dethroned. The subversion of thrones, the annexation of states, seemed to them naturally enough to form part of that vast scheme of rooting out all the religious and social systems of India, concerning which so many vague forebodings had darkly warned the land.”

There was, therefore, a considerable smouldering and a spark was necessary to set the country ablaze. The stories about the Crimean War reached the Indian sepoys and ignorant as they were of the strength and the resources of England, they took it that the power of England was on the wane. It became also known that there was an Asiatic affair with China in which England was involved. The year 1857 also appeared ominous to the Company Raj: it was then a full hundred years since the Battle of Plassey. On the top of it all, came the mysterious affair of the chappaties (or cakes) which were distributed among the populations over which English rule had spread. It was a very clever trick of some seditious mischief-mongers and although no one exactly understood what they meant, they prepared the minds of the people for something mysterious that was coming on. The psychological moment for all the forces which had been crushed, or which felt that they were about to be crushed, seemed to have

come: and the rebellion spread like wild fire.

The literature of Proclamations and Placards of the time shows clearly that the people were led on to fight by the usual cries of their country and their faith being in danger. The country may be an abstraction to masses of people at all times: but in times of national crisis, the cry of the country has an electrifying effect upon the souls of men. It may be that clever politicians have only used that catchword for their purposes: but that is not peculiar to India of 1857. It cannot be denied that there was a strong patriotic or national feeling among both Hindus and Mahommedans at that time, compounded of their attachment to their soil, their attachment to their culture, their attachment to their own native rulers. A system entirely different and foreign both to the Hindus and the Mahommedans was being to some extent forced upon India, and we cannot wonder that all the native pride of the population asserted itself in this violent way against the invasion of the Western system.

Here we reproduce some of these proclamations used to stir up the people against the British Government. Charles Ball says that early in January, the Government had received an incendiary address in Hindustani which was placarded in Madras. It called upon "all true believers to rise against the English infidels, and drive them from India. It declared that the English had now abandoned all principles of justice, and were bent on appropriating the possessions of the Mohammedans, and that there was but one way of resisting their encroachments—a holy war. He who fell in such a war would be venerated as a martyr. He that held back would be execrated as an infidel and a heretic." In one proclamation, the Emperor of Delhi says, "Oh, you sons of Hindustan, if we make up our mind we can destroy the enemy in no time. We will destroy the enemy and will release from dread

our religion and our country, dearer to us than life itself." Again: "Hindus and Mahomedans of India! Arise! Brethren arise! Of all the gifts of God, the most gracious is that of Swaraj. Will the oppressive Demon who has robbed us of it by deceit be able to keep it away from us for ever? Can such an act against the will of God stand for ever? No. No. The English have committed so many atrocities that the cup of their sins is already full. To add to it, they have now got the wicked desire to destroy our holy religion. Are you going to remain idle even now? God does not wish that you should remain so; for He has inspired in the hearts of Hindus and Mahomedans the desire to turn the English out of our country. And by the grace of God, and your valour, they will soon be so completely defeated that in this our Hindustan, there will not remain even the least trace of them! In this our army, the differences of small and great shall be forgotten, and equality shall be the rule; for all who draw the sword in this holy war, for the defence of religion are equally glorious. They are brethren, there is no rank among them. Therefore, I again say to all my Hindi brethren, 'Arise and jump into the battlefield for this divinely ordained and supreme duty.'" ¶ The Emperor later on declares: "Why has God given us wealth, land, power? They are not for individual pleasure, but they are given for the holy object of defence of our religion."

The events of the Mutiny clearly show that there was fierce hatred of the English in the people: and an ardent desire to vindicate their country and their religion against the new domination. The experiment of trying greased cartridges led to the Barrackpore trouble and then to the Meerut outbreak. At Barrackpore, one Mangal Panday could not patiently accept the new imposition, killed some English officers, and cheerfully submitted to

death. He was hanged on the 8th April. At Meerut, eighty five sepoy who would not touch the greased cartridges were sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment. The Sepoys could not control themselves. The women told them scornfully : " Your brethren are in prison, and you are lounging about here killing flies ! Fie upon your life ! " This led to a premature outburst which frustrated to a great extent the designs of the organizers of the Mutiny. ¶ The people of Meerut rose in revolt immediately; and everywhere there was the cry of "*Maro Feringhi ko !*" (Kill the foreigner!) At Delhi, the Meerut army joined hands with the Delhi army: and the sepoy said to the Emperor: " Khavinda! The English are defeated at Meerut. Delhi is in your hands, and all the sepoy and people, from Peshawar upto Calcutta are awaiting your orders. The whole of Hindustan has arisen to break the chains of English slavery and to acquire God-given independence. ¶ At this time, take up the flag of liberty in your own hands so that all the warriors of India may assemble to fight under it ! ¶ Hindustan has begun to fight to get back Swaraj and if you accept her leadership, in a moment we will either drive all these Feringhi demons into the ocean, or give them as food to the vultures!" The hatred of the villagers against English rule was such that those Englishmen, who fled under various disguises, were killed, and hundreds of villages determined never to allow an Englishman to set foot within their limits. Yet it must be said to the credit of these people that not a single English woman was dishonoured. " However much of cruelty and bloodshed there was, the tales which gained currency of dishonour to ladies, were, so far as many observations and enquiries went, devoid of any satisfactory proof." But there is no mistaking the general feeling of a very strong hatred against the British. Any one who uttered a word of English was ruthlessly smashed! Many Indians who would not indulge in violence often remained

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aloof and would not help the English. As Kaye says: "Natives of all classes held aloof, waiting and watching the issue of events. From the capitalists to the coolies, all shrank alike from rendering assistance those whose power might be swept away in a day."

The proclamation at Rohilkhand was equally characteristic. "Residents of Hindusthan! The long-looked-for festival of Swaraj has arrived! Are you going to accept or refuse it? Are you going to take advantage of this great opportunity or are you going to let it go out of your hands? Hindu and Mahomedan Brethren! Be it known to all of you that, if these English are permitted to remain in India, they will butcher all and put an end to your religion! The residents of Hindustan have so long been deceived by Englishmen, and have cut their necks with their own swords. So now we must repair this sin of treachery to our country! The Englishmen will try, now also, their old work of deception; they will try to incite the Hindus to rise against the Mussulmans, and the Mahomedans to rise against the Hindus. But, Hindu Brethren! do not fall into their nets! It is hardly necessary to tell our clever Hindu brethren that the English never keep their promises. They are adepts in the art of trickery and deceitful imposture. They have all along been trying to root out all other religions on earth but their own! Have they not pushed aside the rights of adopted children? Have they not swallowed up the countries and kingdoms of our kings? Who took away the kingdom of Nagpur? Who took away the kingdom of Lucknow? Who has trampled under foot both Hindus and Mahomedans? Mussulmans, if you revere the Koran, and Hindus, if you revere the cow-mother, forget now your minor differences and unite together in this sacred war! Jump into the battlefield fighting under one banner, and wash away the name of the English from India in streams of blood! If the Hindus will join hands with the

Mahommedans in this war, if they will also take the field for the freedom of our country, then, as a reward for their patriotism, the killing of cows will be put a stop to. In this holy war, he who fights himself, and he who helps another to fight by means of money, will attain earthly and spiritual freedom! But if anyone will oppose this Swadeshi War, then he will strike at his own head, and be guilty of the sin of suicide!"

The feeling of hatred against the English took a variety of forms. The villagers would not surrender their leaders to the English even for heavy rewards. In some cases, it was considered a sin to sell commodities to the English. A baker who gave bread to the English had his hands and nose cut off by the community. This meant a sort of national boycott. The women of Cawnpore left their zenanas and rushed to the battlefield. A dancing girl, Aizizan, particularly made herself very conspicuous. She moved about fully armed on horseback, encouraging sepoys by her smiles and giving them milk and sweetmeats. Many Indians who served the Government as officers also changed sides and took part in the Mutiny. Everyone who tried to be "loyal" was considered a traitor to his religion. Those who continued to serve the Government often lost caste: no one would eat with them or marry among them, and they were set fire to their funeral pyres when they died. "Revolt had, in consequence, swept before it, in many cases, with regard for personal interest and all attachment to the foreign master. The imputation of remaining faithful to the Government in such circumstances, has been intolerable. It is well known that the few sepoys who have remained in our services are deemed outcastes, not only by their comrades but their caste people in general. These even say they cannot venture to go to their homes, for, not only would they be reproached and denied brotherly offices, but their very lives would be in danger." The behaviour of some of

the Revolutionaries at the time of death has excited admiration of English historians, and it clearly shows the idea for which they were fighting. Charles Ball writes: "Batch upon batch of natives mounted the scaffold. The calmness of mind and nobility of demeanour which some of the Revolutionaries showed at the time of death is such as would do credit to those who martyred themselves for devotion to a principle."

When the Sikhs entered Patna to defend it for the British, they were asked: "Are you true Sikhs or Feringhi converts?" They were avoided everywhere; and even a priest of the Sikh temple refused them entry within the temple !

Peer Ali, one of the local leaders at Patna was asked to save his life by disclosing the names of the leaders; and he replied: "There are some occasions in life when it is desirable to save one's life-but there are some others when it is more desirable to sacrifice it! This moment is one of the latter kind, when to embrace death at once is the means of eternal life! You might hang me, you might hang other men like me, but you cannot hang our ideal. If I die, thousands of heroes will rise out of my blood and will destroy your kingdom." Taylor wrote of him: "He is the type of the class of men whose unconquerable fanaticism renders them dangerous enemies and whose stern resolution entitles them in some respects to admiration and respect!"

The Emperor felt himself unequal to the task of heading a revolution, and in a patriotic outburst wrote letters in his own hand to the various Rajas, inviting them to join and lead the movement and expressed his desire to resign even his imperial position, if necessary, to a confederacy of the native princes. The idea that was animating him was that the rule of the Indians - whoever they

may be — would be more welcome than the rule of the British. "It is my ardent wish to see that the Feringhi is driven out of Hindusthan by all means and at any cost. It is my ardent wish that the whole of Hindusthan should be free. But the Revolutionary War that has been waged for this purpose cannot be crowned with success unless a man capable of sustaining the whole burden of the movement, who can organise and concentrate the different forces of the nation and will unify the whole people in himself, comes forward to guide this rising. I have no desire left in me of ruling over India, after the expulsion of the English, to my own personal aggrandisement. If all of you native Rajas are ready to unsheath your sword to drive away the enemy, then I am willing to resign my Imperial powers and authority in the hands of any confederacy of the native princes who are chosen to exercise it."

The case of Oudh deserves special mention. Here the ideal was clearly good government versus self-government. But the evidence shows that the people were wedded to the rule of the Nabob Wajed Ali Shah, however odious it might have looked to Englishmen. They considered the annexation to be a gross betrayal of faith and stood up for the rights of the Native Raj against the Company Raj in the year of the Mutiny. When the English asked the local landlords to serve the English, some of them said, "We have eaten of the food of Swaraj. We will not touch the foreigners' food!" The English historians have testified to their love of independence. White writes: "I should be wanting in faithfulness as a historian, if I failed to record with admiration the courage displayed by the Oudhians. The great fault of the Oudh Talukdars from a moral point of view was their having made common cause with the murderous mutineers. But for this, they might have been regarded as noble patriots,

fighting in a good cause, *pro rege et pro patria*, for the king and the Motherland." Innes says, "At least the struggle of the Oudhians must be characterised as a war of independence."

But this idea of a cause which is higher than one's own personal interests, or even higher than the interests of one's caste or communal or religious group, certainly animated a large body of people both in Oudh as well as outside Oudh. In some cases, the personal grievances did mingle with and contribute to the zeal for one's country. In the case of many, however, the idea that inspired them was hatred to the foreigner, his culture and his domination. Thus Holmes writes: "There were numerous Rajas and petty chiefs who without any substantial grievance to brood over, were always fretting against the restraint of the Government, the very existence of which was always reminding them of the fact that they belonged to a conquered nation ... Among all these millions, there was no real loyalty towards the alien government which had been forced to impose itself upon them. In trying to estimate the conduct of the people of India during the Mutiny, it is important to bear in mind that it would have been unnatural for them to feel towards an alien government like ours, the loyalty that can only exist with patriotism. Those of them who regarded our rule as beneficial helped us, or at least, left us free to help ourselves. But there was not one of them who would not have turned against us, if he had once come to believe that we could be overthrown!"

Dr. Duff thus testifies to the view that the Indian Mutiny was no ordinary rising confined to sepoys, but a national revolt against the foreign yoke: "Why, if it had been merely a military mutiny, in the midst of an unsympathetic unaiding population, a few decisive victories such as we have already had, might quash it, or as the

phrase goes, stamp it out. But so far from being quashed or stamped out, it seems still as rampant and in some respects more widespread and formidable than ever. And it is a fact that it is not a mere military revolt, but a rebellion - a revolution, which alone can account for the little progress hitherto made in extinguishing it and, at the same time, precludes any reasonable hope of its early suppression. That it is a rebellion, and a rebellion too, of no recent growth, every fresh revelation tends more and more to confirm. And a rebellion long and deliberately concocted, a rebellion which has been able to array the Hindu and the Mahommedan in an unnatural confederacy, a rebellion which is now manifestly nurtured and sustained by the whole population of Oudh and directly or indirectly, sympathised with and assisted by well-nigh half of the neighbouring provinces - is not to be put down by a few victories over mutinous sepoys, however decisive and brilliant.

“From the very outset, it has been gradually assuming more and more the character of a rebellion - a rebellion on the part of vast multitudes beyond the Sepoy army, against British supremacy and sovereignty.”

Such is the view of the Mutiny taken by the new national party. The Mutiny of 1857 like other great events in history has been naturally described and interpreted in different ways by different parties. Most of the historians have been Englishmen and they have not been able to avoid national bias. But the above versions have come down to us from the narratives of English writers: and they leave no doubt as to the character of the Mutiny of 1857.

The Mutiny was an anti-British rising. It was the first effort of its kind on a large scale on the part of the Indian people. It was the political and the religious

recoil on the part of India against the British occupation of India. It was in a sense the last effort on the part of medieval India to throw off the new yoke. It was an attempt in which to some extent Hindus and Muslims made common cause against what they thought to be a common enemy. /The Hindu Raja as well as the Muslim Nabob felt himself threatened by the aggressive policy of the British—especially of Lord Dalhousie. The Hindu Brahmin as well as the Muslim Maulvie found that his job was vitally attacked by the new culture. \ No wonder that the Indian rose in revolt against the ceaselessly advancing rise of the West. Personal piques were there; individual causes of humiliation and dispossession were there: and these aided the movement which soon ceased to be a sporadic rising engineered by a few clever, designing, disgruntled leaders for personal ends, and assumed more and more a general character of an all-India revolt against the British.

The question whether it was a national war for Indian independence cannot be answered quite summarily. The one common principle that inspired all the insurgents was hatred of the foreigner: and at the back of this hatred there was a strong instinctive attachment to native culture, native religion, native policy. That it was the first great effort on the part of India in which the Hindu and the Muslims to some extent joined hand in hand against a common foe is indeed very characteristic both from the view of the Indian Nationalist and the English Imperialist. " Among the many lessons the Indian Mutiny conveys to the historian, none is of greater importance than the warning that it is possible to have a Revolution in which Brahmins and Sudras, Hindus and Mahomme-dans, could be united against us, and that it is not safe to suppose that the peace and stability of our dominions, in any great measure, depends on the continent being

inhabited by different religious systems, for they mutually understand and respect and take a part in each other's modes and ways and doings. The Mutiny reminds us that our dominions rest on thin crust, ever likely to be rent by titanic fires of social changes and religious revolutions." That the Hindus and the Muslims both belong to India, and have a common cause became clear to both the communities when they were confronted by a third community. The Hindus ceased to regard the Muslims as foreigners when they found another foreigner, mightier than both, appearing on the scene and engulfing them both in a common sweep. The Muslims in the same way felt temporarily at any rate that the Hindus were not so bad as they appeared to be, when they were confronted by this new menace. The Mutiny at any rate is partly the result and partly the cause of the rise of this new national feeling in the country. "One of the great results that have flowed from the rebellion of 1857-58 has been to make the inhabitants of India acquainted with each other. We have seen the tide of war rolling from Nepal to the borders of Gujarat, from the deserts of Rajputana to the frontiers of the Nizam's territories, the same men over-running the whole land of India and giving to their resistance, as it were, a national character. The paltry interests of isolated states, the ignorance which men of one petty principality have laboured under in considering the habits and customs of other principalities-all this has disappeared to make way for a more uniform appreciation of public events throughout India. We may assume that, in the rebellion of 1857, no national spirit was aroused, but we cannot deny that our efforts to put it down have sown the seeds of a new plant and thus laid the foundation for more energetic attempts on the part of the people, if, in the course of future years, England has not done something towards reconciling the numerous inconsistencies and suppressing some of the dangerous tendencies of its rule in India."

The Mutiny further illustrates the close connection between religion and nationalism in India. The whole militant national movement in India is essentially a movement for Swadharma and Swaraj. It is an attempt to assert the indigenous culture against the alien invasion both political and cultural. Both the Hindus and the Muslims have been at all times moved more by an appeal to their religion than anything else. The Hindu revival under Shiwaji was also both religious and political. The Sikh revival was equally both religious and political. The whole Muslim invasion of India was to a large extent a religious movement against the Hindu idolators. Nothing therefore served to give the Mutiny a national character more than the cry that it was a rising in defence of faith, and the cries also which were repeated were "Din ! Din !" "Har, Har Mahadev !"—the religious cries.

But if the occurrence and spread of the rebellion had important lessons for the English rulers of India, the failure of the rebellion has equally important lessons for the Indian nationalists. The national idea was there in the air. But it had not permeated important parts of India. The English would never have won if the national idea was operative among all sections of the people. The English reconquered India, as they had originally conquered India largely by the help of the Indians. The Sikhs had still the horrors of the religious persecution at the hands of the Muslims too fresh in their memories: and they were not yet conscious of the evils of the British Raj. The States of Patiala, Nabha, and Jhind stood solidly by the British side. The Gurkhas freely helped the British. The Nizam remained faithful to the British: and many such instances may be quoted to show that the idea of revolt had certainly not seized the people and the princes everywhere. Russel writes: "Yet it must be admitted that, with all their courage, they (the British) would have been quite exterminated

if the natives had been all and altogether hostile to them. The desperate defences made by the garrison were no doubt heroic: but the natives shared their glory, and they, by their aid and presence rendered the defence possible. Our siege of Delhi would have been quite impossible, if the Rajas of Patiala and Jhind had not been our friends and if the Sikhs had not recruited in our battalions and remained quiet in the Punjab. The Sikhs at Lucknow did good service, and in all cases, our garrisons were helped, fed, and served by the natives, as our armies were attended and strengthened by them in the field."

It is no use calling all these people traitors to the country: we must not abuse, we must understand. The Mutiny has stirred up a lot of hatred on both sides: and national and racial hatred makes people forget certain basic facts in the situation. Indian nationalism, if not openly at least secretly, will always tend to exalt and glorify as patriots, men who fight and die for the sake of the country. English imperialism, more openly than secretly (because it has the upper hand in the situation) will tend to run down all such patriots as traitors and murderers. The accounts of the Mutiny very clearly show these tendencies. This shows that the two great 'isms' - each legitimate in its sphere are far from being reconciled to each other. The Mutiny was the first great conflict on an all-India scale between these two 'isms'. In the name of these 'isms' men freely attacked and killed each other: they even sometimes killed women and children: and they always felt justified in the eyes of their conscience in doing so. The narration of the horrors of the Mutiny naturally excites the blood of the people: the Englishman feels one way and the Indian always feels the other way. The history of the Mutiny clearly shows that there was heroism on both sides: and there were atrocities also on both sides. Any reiteration of these will

always tend to complicate the situation and make the task of the constructive politician very difficult.

Indians, therefore, instead of branding as traitors all who remained loyal to the Government, should try to understand them. The root cause of the failure of the Mutiny was neither the absence of military leadership nor of organisation among the Indian rebels: it was the absence of an effective ideal capable of making all India one under its inspiration. Even Savarkar says: "Had there been a clear and attractive ideal, even the traitors would have become patriots." "Though the plan of the destructive part of the Revolution was complete, its creative part was not attractive enough. Nobody was against destroying the English power: but what about the future? If it was only to re-establish the former internecine strife, if it was to bring again the same state of affairs as before, the same Moghuls, the same Mahrattas, and the same old quarrels—a condition being tired of which, the nation in a moment of mad folly, allowed foreigners to come in—if it were only for this, the more ignorant of the populace did not think it worth while to shed their blood for it." The mutineers stood blindly, instinctively for the continuation of the old medieval order with the petty territorial and religious quarrels: and, therefore, they failed. This is the truth about the Mutiny. All honour to the Indians who love their country: for they have as much right to love their country as Englishmen have a right to love England. All honour to Indians who are ready to sacrifice their all at the altar of their motherland: and who do all they can to vindicate the honour and dignity of their country and culture: for the essence of higher patriotism is the same everywhere. The fierce flame of patriotism, wherever it burns brightly, is so far considered by humanity as a very noble and worthy sentiment. But the question is: How is this patriotism best expressed at a particular time in the highest interests of the country? The Sepoys

when asked by the English as to why they joined the rebellion merely said : "It is the common end of our religion that Feringhis should be killed." "The end will be the extermination of all the English and then, God knows!" Here, therefore, was a blind instinctive urge and this was true not only of the Sepoys but even of the leaders. The patriotic urge expressed itself only in one cry which sums up all that they thought about the revolution. "*Maro Feringhiko!*" ("Kill the Feringhis!") There was no definite goal: no national programme of reconstruction: no analysis of the actual evil and good of the old order as well as of the new: no vision. It may be hard for a patriot to say that there is a finger of Providence in the march of events which has linked India to Great Britain: but the Moderates openly said that and shut their eyes definitely to the Mutiny and the India of the days before the Mutiny. That India is the country of their birth: that she deserves and demands ceaseless attention and untold sacrifices from every Indian, that in the interests of that cause all differences between all communities must sink, that India really does not belong to the Indians unless they actually by their devotion and efforts make it their own, that there should be perfect drill, discipline, and organisation under inspired and far-sighted leaders before even a measure of success can be theirs: these are some of the lessons which the Mutiny might teach the Indians of to-day. But mere hatred and destruction without a clear consciousness of what national good at a particular time demands, will not only lead nowhere but will involve the country in orgies of unnecessary bloodshed and terrible reactions.

2. THE OUTBURST IN NATIONAL SONGS.

The Mutiny came and went: and the Indian political mind apparently went into a long sleep. The Press continued to agitate: and in the days of Lord Lytton, the country

was roused to some extent by his imperial attitude. The matters came to a head in the time of Lord Ripon and the Ilbert Bill agitation was one of the early reminders to the Indian politician of his duties. There were stirrings of new life, particularly in Bengal: we find the expression of these stirrings in the literature of the day. The Bengalee stage proclaimed the gospel of the cult of the motherland in an opera called " Bharat-Mata " or " Mother-land." " Neela-Darpan "—a political drama—gives us the story of the indigo riots in Nadia and the tyrannies on the peasants by the English indigo factories. It created a great excitement among the Bengalee audiences. The people were so much excited that they even sometimes threw their shoes at the poor actors on the stage who represented the white planters. Certain pathetic national songs began to circulate, reminding people of their political backwardness. Here are some specimens of this poetry of our national literature. (Translated from Bengalee.)

" How long will it take thee, Oh Bharata, to swim
across this ocean of misery ?

Or sinking and sinking in depression, wilt thou
enter the nether regions for ever ?

Having gladly offered thy jewels to the stranger,
thou carriest now only an iron chain on the breast.

There are rows of lights in thy cities (owned by
the stranger)

But thou art in darkness all the same."
In another song we read :

" O India, gloomy is thy face beautiful that was as
the moon,

Day and night tears flow from thy eyes."

In another song we have a pathetic reference to the economic revolution which was daily rendering India poorer and poorer.

“The weaver and the blacksmith are crying day and night. They cannot find their food by plying their trade. Even threads and needles come from distant shores. Even match-sticks are not produced in the country. Whether in dressing themselves or in producing their domestic utensils or even in lighting their oil-lamps,—in nothing are the people independent of their foreign masters...Swarms of locusts from a distant island, coming to these shores have eaten up all its solid grains, leaving only the chaff for the starving children of the soil.”

Another poet in his “Song of India” writes :
“Sing, O my clarionet ! sing to these words:
Everyone is free in this wide world,
Everyone is awake in the glory of science,
India alone lieth asleep!”

“China and Burma and barbarous Japan.
Even they are independent, they are superior,
India alone knoweth no waking!”

Another song continues the same strain:—
“O India, weep, weep, thou,
As long as thy polluted atoms have not
 been washed away into the waters of the ocean,
So long weep thou, so long weep!”

Such were the outpourings of the new spirit of freedom that was coming over the country. The soil was thus being prepared for the politician.

3. *THE DAWN OF NEW NATIONALISM IN THE MAHARASHTRA.*

In another part of the country, political consciousness was always active, brooding over the departed glories of the past Indian rule. The Maharashtra has played a promi-

ment part in the history of medieval India—before the advent of the British, and was destined to play a prominent part in the history of modern India. Here, Ranade and Gokhale had led great movements and left their indelible mark upon Indian history. Here, another great man made himself conspicuous even in the days of Ranade and Gokhale. He soon became the father of Indian militant nationalism. Poona was the centre of the great Maratha and Peshwa Empire; and Poona became the centre first of moderate Indian nationalism and later on of radical Indian nationalism. The movement in Poona is largely led by Chitpavan Brahmins: and Tilak, like Ranade and Gokhale, was a Chitpavan Brahmin.

✓ Tilak has contributed more by his life and character than by his speeches or writings to the making of the new nationalism. He was a politician of a very high order: and the great peculiarity of his politics was that, while looking more ahead than others, he never forgot the solid actualities about him. He was moved by a vision of the ultimate values: but in trying to give concrete reality to them he showed clearly the astuteness of an experienced man of affairs. But behind his vision as well as statesmanship was the force of a selfless patriotism, indomitable courage, and fierce determination. He had neither wealth nor great social position, neither professional success nor Government recognition, neither brilliant oratory nor any of the artificial tricks of the trade to recommend him. What then made him the incarnation of the national consciousness, the embodiment of the national ideal? It was his supreme concentration, without reservation, of his life to the one great aim, viz. the freedom of his country. "Arguments and speeches do not win liberty for a nation: but where there is a will in the nation to be free, and a man to embody that will in every action of his life and to devote his days to its realisation in the face of every difficulty and every suffering,

and where the will of the nation has once said, 'This man and his life mean what I have in my heart and my purpose,' that is a sure signpost of the future, which no one has any excuse for mistaking."

It was the vigour, the tone, the life that he tried to put into the masses that make him as well as his party so different from the Liberals. The nation had become intellectually self-conscious to some extent before Tilak appeared on the political horizon: the Moderates had made the case theoretically almost perfect. But what politics so far lacked was a certain note of practical reality; it was largely a speculative affair—a matter of proof and argument. Tilak brings politics from the cloudland of words and general theories to the solid earth of reality. Like Socrates, he brings political philosophy in India from heaven to earth, from the Council Hall or the Congress mandap to the street and the market. Politics so far was comparatively a feeble affair,—it lacked life. It is the great merit of Tilak that he puts a new self-confidence, a new self-assertiveness into his people. It was his great discovery that politics would remain a fleshless and bloodless affair unless it was able to enlist the interests and feelings of the masses. So far it was a parleying between the Government officials on the one hand and a few politicians on the other hand. It was reserved for Tilak to make both the Government and professional politicians look for a new power viz. the people. It was one of the standing arguments of the official party that the Congress did not represent the people. Tilak cleverly turned the tables on the Government by boldly identifying himself with the masses. Tilak's attempt to democratise the political movement and bring it home vividly into the consciousness of the average man, infused a new life and vigour into the movement and gave it a very different character.

This then was Tilak's first great political insight.

His second political insight was equally remarkable. He knew his people well; and he knew that to awake the dormant spirit of the Indian people, an appeal must be made not to their head, but their heart, not to their political intelligence but to their spiritual consciousness. He thus placed himself in touch with the inner working of the soul of the people as it had revealed itself in history: and thus linked up the present political struggle with their age-long social and spiritual struggle and gave an organic unity to his movement, by connecting the future with the present and the past. Hence his social and religious conservatism. He loved to talk to people in their own language: he loved to appeal to symbols which were dear to their heart and imagination. "This divination of the mind and spirit of the people and their needs, and this power to seize on the right way to call it forth, prove strikingly the political genius of Mr. Tilak: (they made him the one man predestined to lead them in this trying and difficult period: when all has to be discovered and all has to be reconstructed. To bring in the mass of the people, to found the greatness of the future on the greatness of the past, to infuse Indian politics with Indian religious fervour, are the indispensable conditions for a great and powerful awakening in India.) Others—writers, thinkers, spiritual leaders, had seen this truth; Mr. Tilak was the first to bring it into the actual field of practical politics." C/

India is a vast country: and the Indian people are made of many sub-nationalities. The Maharashtrians, the Bengalees, the Punjabees, for example, constitute powerful groups with a well-marked individuality. Tilak belonged to Maharashtra and he started his agitation first among the people of his own province, and earned by his patient and arduous labours and sufferings, the character of an accredited representative of the Maharashtra. Tilak was never a cosmopolitan type of man. He was steeped in his provin-

cial and vernacular culture. He was a type of Mahratta character : he truly belonged to the old Mahratta and Peshwa stock, with all those characteristics of the people which made them conspicuous on the stage of Indian history. "The Mahratta race, as their soil and their history have made them, are a rugged, strong, and sturdy people, democratic in their every fibre, keenly intelligent and practical to the very marrow,...capable of great fervour, feeling, and enthusiasm like all Indian peoples, but not emotional idealists, having in their thought and speech always a turn for strength, sense, accuracy, lucidity, and vigour; in learning and scholarship patient, industrious, careful, thorough and penetrating; in life simple, hardy and frugal; in their temperament courageous, pugnacious, full of spirit, yet with a tact in dealing with hard facts and circumventing obstacles, shrewd yet aggressive diplomatists, born politicians, born fighters. All this Mr. Tilak is with a singular completeness, and all on a large scale, adding to it all a lucidity of genius, a secret intensity, an inner strength of will, a single-mindedness in aim of quite extraordinary force."

Tilak, therefore, started very naturally his propaganda in his characteristic way in his own province. He was born in 1856-the year of the great mutiny. His father was a school inspector in Poona and Tilak received a good grounding in Sanscrit and Marathi from him. His father however died in 1872-and Tilak was largely left to himself: but he continued his studies and passed B. A. in 1875, with a first class in mathematics. In that year, there was an abortive attempt to overturn the British Government by a few fanatics under Wasudev Balwant Phadke,-the foolishness of which must have made a great impression on Tilak's mind. Tilak started his work under the inspiring influence of friends like Chiplonkar and Agarkar. Ranade was a great influence in those days, but while he was trying to rationalise the whole social movement of his time, Chiplonkar was for

nationalising it. Tilak was more attracted to Chiplonkar than Ranade. In 1882, Tilak and Agarkar championed the cause of the representative of the historic dynasty of Shivaji, were found guilty of having "thoughtlessly published defamatory articles" and were sentenced each to four months' imprisonment.

Tilak began as an educationalist and had a great share in the making of the New English School and the Fergusson College. He started two well-known and very widely-read papers, the *Kesari* (Marathi weekly) and the *Mahratta* (English weekly), through which he carried on his social and political propaganda. Now he began to develop his idea of quickening the national self-consciousness of the people by methods of propaganda suitable to them and putting a little of the spirit of self-help and manliness into them. Religion has been at all times a powerful force with the people; and Tilak knew it too well. Religious ceremonials of popular Hinduism constitute powerful media for influencing the popular mind. Tilak therefore launched first the Ganpati celebrations (1893) and then the Shivaji festival with a view to stimulate the religious and patriotic consciousness of the Hindu masses. Here, the Hindu young men, mostly from the schools and colleges learnt the secret of organized, disciplined action. "Lectures, processions, singing parties are the invariable accompaniments of the festival and they not only afford an outlet to the religious zeal of the people but help in fostering the national sentiment also, and creating an interest in the outstanding questions of the day." Thus the political revival of the masses began under the religious garb; and in 1895, Tilak inaugurated the Shivaji festival. This was national hero-worship. Shivaji was one of the greatest makers of modern Hindu India and round his name rallied all the newly aroused national pride and enthusiasm of the Maharashtrian people. Fiery speeches were made and Tilak himself said that a higher morality

than that of the Indian Penal Code, in the usual ethical teachings of the East and the West, governs the life of nations; and Shivaji was fully justified in killing Afzal Khan, because it was a great unselfish act for national self-preservation. "God has not conferred on the Mlechha a grant of Hindustan inscribed on imperishable brass." Another speaker said: "Who dares to call that man a murderer who, when only nine years old, had received Divine inspiration not to bow down before a Mahomedan Emperor? Who dares to condemn Shivaji for disregarding a minor duty in the performance of a major one? Had Shivaji committed five or fifty crimes more terrible, I would have been equally ready to prostrate myself not once but one hundred times before the image of our lord Shivaji..... Every Hindu, every Mahratta must rejoice at this spectacle, for we too are all striving to regain our lost independence, and it is only by combination that we can throw off the yoke."

This whole campaign caused a lot of excitement: and simultaneously India experienced a visitation of famine and plague. Tilak began to organise help for the masses and asked them to be bold. "Will you, when the Queen desires that none should die, when the Governor declares that all should live, and the Secretary of State is prepared to go in for debt, if necessary,—will you kill yourself by timidity and starvation? If you have money to pay Government dues, pay them by all means. But if you have not, will you sell your things away only to avoid the supposed wrath of subordinate Government officers? Can you not be bold even when in the grip of death?" Appeals like this were interpreted by the official mind as a "no-rent" campaign. Famine was followed by plague: and the Government campaign to check its spread offended people's customs and prejudices. The *Kesari*—Tilak's paper—continued its campaign to put life into the people. The following verses were

put into the mouth of Shivaji: "I delivered my country by establishing 'Swaraj' and saving religion. I planted in the soil of Maharashtra virtues that may be likened to the Kalpavriksha (one of the five trees of Indra's Paradise that yields whatsoever may be desired), sublime policy based on strong foundations, valour in the battlefield like that of Karna, patriotism, genuine unselfishness, and unity, the best of all. Alas, alas, all I see now is the ruin of my country. Those forts of mine to build which I poured out money, to acquire which torrents of fiery blood streamed forth, from which I sallied forth to victory roaring like a lion—all those are crumbling away. What a desolation is this! Foreigners are dragging out Lakshmi (the goddess of Good Fortune) by the hands of persecution. Along with her, plenty has fled, and with plenty health.

"Say, where are those splendid ones who promptly shed their blood on the spot where my perspiration fell? People eat bread once in a day, and not even enough of that. They toil through hard times by tightening up their bellies. Oh people, how have you tolerated in the sacred places the carrying off to prison of those holy preceptors, those religious teachers of mine, those saintly Brahmans whom I protected—who, while they devoted themselves to religious practices in times of peace, exchanged the Darbha (sacrificial grass) in their hands for weapons, which they used manfully when occasion required. The cow, the foster-mother of babes, when their mother leaves them, the mainstay of the hard-worked peasants, the imparter of strength to my people, whom I worshipped as my mother and protected more than my life, is taken daily to the slaughter house and ruthlessly butchered by the unbelievers. ...How can I bear this heart-rending spectacle? Have all our leaders become like helpless figures on the chess-board? What misfortune has overtaken the land?"

The result of all these events was an atmosphere of excitement and violence: and Tilak was convicted of sedition for having published the above verses and his speech at the Shivaji festival in connection with the killing of Afzal Khan.

4. *THE PARTITION OF BENGAL AND THE NEW SPIRIT.*

The scene again shifts from the Maharashtra to Bengal. Circumstances were there conspiring to give the agitation, started by Tilak in the nineties of the last century, a nation-wide character. The year 1905 constitutes one of the great landmarks in the history of Indian nationalism. Lord Curzon had brought with him the ideal of administrative efficiency and was trying to enforce it in the country. Lord Curzon may have meant well; but his measures and still more his words, were not calculated to check the growing tension of the popular mind in India. He was fond of exchanging swords with the nationalists, and made no secret of his contempt for the democratic aspiration of the intelligentsia. He had set before himself twelve administrative problems, the solution of which was bound to produce wide-spread alarm in the country. People felt that his ideal of centralization would virtually put the political clock back, and deliberately reverse the generous policy enunciated in the Queen's Proclamation and carried out to some extent by Viceroys like Lord Ripon. His attempt in 1899 to reduce the elected members of the Calcutta Corporation to half their original number and to vest its administration in a General Committee was thought to lay an axe at the root of Local Self-Government. This was followed by "the officialization of the Universities, the curtailment of high education, the abolition of open competitive tests for the Provincial Civil Services, the enactment of the Civil

Official Secrets Act: "acts keenly resented by the public. His imperial tendencies which brought him into conflict with the rising nationalism of the country were equally revealed by the Durbar held in 1902 at Delhi, and his Tibetan expedition (1903-4) to establish Imperial prestige in Central Asia. The Durbar of 1902, like the Durbar of 1877, followed a terrible famine, and the Congress remarked: " On what ground did they protest ? Not because they were wanting in loyalty to the Sovereign whose coronation it was intended to celebrate, but because His Majesty would have been the first - had he known - to forbid his representative to offer a pompous pageant to a starving population." The Tibetan expedition caused resentment because the people were opposed to see fresh extensions of British imperialism at the expense of poor India. [Gokhale in 1905 as the President of the Congress gave Lord Curzon full credit for his wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy and his boundless enthusiasm for work: but remarked that he lacked sympathetic imagination without which no man can understand an alien people.

Lord Curzon expressed rather frankly his views: and this even gave greater offence to the susceptibilities of a sensitive people than many of his measures. His administrative acts were the outcome of a diplomatic policy, of the adoption of a new programme, of the application of a new ideal and principle. It was said of Lord Ripon that he tried to shift the very foundations of British rule in India. The same is true in an opposite sense of Lord Curzon. His attempt to whittle down the Proclamation called forth a spirit of rejoinder from Surendranath Bannerjee in 1904: " Lord Curzon from his place in the Imperial Council.. declared that by our environments, our heritage, and our upbringing we are unequal to the responsibilities of high office under British rule. I

venture to say, sir, that never was a deeper affront offered to the people of India by the representative of the sovereign. It is bad enough to repudiate the Proclamation, but it is adding insult to injury to cast a slur upon the people of this country."

In 1905, Lord Curzon with his usual bluntness made a sweeping charge against the Bengalees as regards their love of flattery and disregard for truth, at the convocation of the University of Calcutta.

"I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. I do not thereby mean to claim that Europeans are universally or even generally truthful, still less do I mean that Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth. The one proposition would be absurd, and the other insulting. But undoubtedly truth took a high place in moral codes of the West before it... had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic skill have always been held in much repute."

The remarks were cautiously and carefully made with due qualifications and reservations: but in a public utterance of this type, these qualifications and reservations were overlooked and the general statement stood. There was a storm of indignation all over the country at this allegation that the Orientals were liars. The *Amrit Bazaar Patrika* came out with the rejoinder about Lord Curzon himself: this may be irrelevant, but it served the purpose of an effective counter-attack.

But the crowning act of his administration was undoubtedly the Partition of Bengal in 1905. It really proved the signal for a general explosion of anti-British feeling all over the country. Bengal might have been too

large a charge for a single man: and the existing boundaries of some of the provinces were no doubt "antiquated, illogical, and productive of inefficiency." But there were other ways of serving the end of efficiency than the dismemberment, cold-blooded vivisection of a homogeneous province, with people sharing identical aspirations, in total disregard of the wishes and feelings of the people themselves. Here is the official explanation: "It cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion, or what passes for it, should be manufactured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre, and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged or suppressed." "From every point of view, it appears to us desirable to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals, and to preserve the growing intelligence and enterprise of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity." No wonder that the people of Bengal saw in this an attempt, a direct attack, at their growing national solidarity. The educated classes of Calcutta had begun to dominate the whole intellectual and political life of Bengal: and hence this attempt to divide them and to weaken them. The Indian politician further saw in it a deliberate attempt to pit the Hindus and the Mahommedans against one another. It was a deliberate counter-blast to the national agitation of the Congress. The Hon. Mr. Chaudhari wrote that the main object of the Curzon policy was "to drive a wedge between Hindu and Mahommedan. Lord Curzon apparently took the Vamberg view that India could only be held on the basis of racial animosity. He feared that a *rapprochement* between Hindu and Mahommedan would be fatal, for underneath the old antagonism there was developing a political unity. The whole Curzon official attitude was directed to feeding the racial fires. That was the reason

for the Partition of Bengal—to carve a Mahommedan State out of one which, as a whole, was Hindu: to set up in Dacca a rival Mahommedan centre to the Hindu centre of Calcutta. The idea ran through all the Curzon tradition. Foster Mahommedanism at the expense of Hinduism. Where Mahommedanism was weak, the rights of the minority must be sustained; where it was strong, the rule of the majority must prevail.”

The way in which the measure was carried out was as provoking as the measure itself. The scheme was concocted in the dark and forced upon the people in the teeth of their fiercest opposition. The Indians felt themselves “insulted, humiliated, and tricked.” Gokhale saw in it the worst feature of the bureaucratic rule in India its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its cool preference of Service interests to those of the governed. If, he said, the Indians whom the whole country delighted to honour are to be made to realise the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own country, then “Goodbye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interests of the people.”

The country was thus driven to a desperate fight for its existence: and sentiment proved a more powerful force in rousing and uniting the people than the cogent reasonings of the Moderate orators, or the tales of economic exploitation circulated for nearly half a century by the nationalist press. Reactionary rulers have again and again proved the greatest benefactors of the people in the history of India. The fanaticism of Aurungzeb, with his extraordinary zeal for political and religious unification, paved the way for the downfall of the Mahommedan Empire, it was the over-centralised rule of Aurungzeb which, to a great extent, brought about the famous

Hindu awakening in the Maharashtra and elsewhere. It was the same partiality for efficiency, the same tradition of strong personal rule, the same disregard for popular opinions which Lord Curzon displayed, that brought another famous national awakening in India. It is thus that history repeats itself: and the autocrats prove virtually, in spite of themselves, the founders of the great movements of their times. Lord Curzon will no doubt go down to posterity as the maker of the Indian nation.

5. *GROWTH OF AN ANTI-BRITISH FEELING.*

The Partition of Bengal was only a signal for the national outburst: there was in preparation for a long time a movement in the minds of men which made them more and more discontented with things as they were. There was a certain disloyalty, a certain type of sedition, a kind of political and economic unrest, long before the Congress was born—a feeling which from time to time found expression in the Vernacular Press. Sir Richard Temple wrote in his Administrative Reports of the leanings of the Vernacular Press towards “political observations of an evil tendency, of the increasing disposition to complain of everything that exists,” and he wrote after his retirement: “this uneasiness and restlessness all the more irksome as arising from no definable cause, and not being susceptible of any specific remedy—found vent in the Vernacular Press. Of these utterances, some were certainly disloyal, or even worse, while others were merely captious, peevish, fractious, petulant.” That there always was a certain amount of extremism there, is clear from a remark made by the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of January 23, 1875, in an article tending to justify the attempt to poison Col. Phayre at Baroda, “Surely to poison...an obscure Colonel is by far a lighter crime than to emasculate a nation, that the government may rule without trouble !”

✓ This political and economic unrest is the result of foreign domination. This foreign domination always creates a gulf between the rulers and the ruled. This gulf is widened by the gratuitous display of racial and official arrogance on the part of at least some members of the ruling caste towards the 'natives'. And the natives of Hindusthan - both Hindus and Mahommedans - have their pride of race, consciousness of a distinctive culture and an aristocratic tradition. It is so difficult for them to swallow all at once the display of racial insolence by the members of the white community in India. Sir Theodore Morison writes with reference to this spirit of caste arrogance: "Englishmen of the baser sort say with considerable logical consistency 'Let Government take up a courageous attitude. We are the dominant race and intend to remain so. All the privileges of conquest should be reserved for us.' These are the men who will not allow a native to carry an umbrella over his head in their presence, and insist that every native shall salaam to them, though such men have rarely the courtesy to acknowledge the salute. A case acquired a certain notoriety of late, and is said to have gone up to the Secretary of State in which an Englishman thrashed an old native school-master, not because he had neglected to salute him, but because the salaam was not performed with that inclination from the vertical which the Englishman thought was due to the dominant caste."

✓ A second important cause is the failure of the bureaucracy in India and the British democracy at home, to respond to the needs of the occasion at the right moment, in the right way. The British Government has been always slow, halting, cautious, and intensely conservative. There has been all along a failure of statesmanship - a want of real grasp of the situation and a disposition to meet it. The British Government has never been able to advance beyond its stereotyped methods of administration; and is never tired of repeating the same old age-long formulæ from

generation to generation as regards the eternal necessity for the maintenance of law and order. To the British bureaucrat, the Indian people is born to be an eternal baby—a case of perpetual infantilism—of arrested development. There can be no progress, no growth in this people. Marks of progress are condemned often as rank sedition, unrest, poisonous discontent, and so on. As Bernard Houghton puts it, “To deprive a people by conquest of its political independence is an evil, for it wounds its self-respect and enfeebles its vitality: but it is an evil which material prosperity may to some extent counterbalance. But to maintain them after conquest in a state of perpetual tutelage, to treat them as children who shall have no will of their own, whose chief glory shall lie in servile obedience to commands—that is more than a wrong: it is a sin against humanity..... For, the stultification of national and personal ideals which results from a despotic system is nothing short of bedwarring inspiration in a nation’s manhood. Nations advance; a people becomes great not through docility and submission, but by the full play of aspiration and thought, liberty to advance along all lines of legitimate progress, in a self-respecting independence of spirit. That is the very anti-thesis of the bureaucratic ideal. Efficiency of the machine, not the living organic growth of a people; progress, if such there be, on the initiative of the Government, not progress on the initiative of the people, such are its watch-words.” The Nationalist movement of Tilak is nothing but the protest of the nation against the theory of perpetual tutelage.

The consequence was a complete loss of faith on the part of the more realistic Indian politicians in the faith and professions of the British Government. The Extremists were merely the children of the Moderates; they had learnt all their lessons at the feet of the Moderates; they were a little more logical and drew conclusions from the premisses

laid down by the Moderates. This is the real difference between them.) The fundamental assumptions upon which the Moderate party had based its faith in its ideal and in the method of its attainment, seemed to be falsified more and more by events: what then was more natural than to ask for a radical revision of these, and of the whole creed in the light of experience? Even the *Bengalee*, a leading journal of the Liberals, wrote, "We have come to the conclusion and even sceptics have been converted to the view that the principles of Liberalism are not meant for India, and that to us it is immaterial whether Liberals or Conservatives are in power. There is but one party which governs India—in which all distinctions between Liberals and Conservatives and Unionists are merged—it is the party of reaction, the party of prestige and of "settled facts"—the party which will not reconsider a mistake, admitted as such, on the ground that it is a settled fact, and which will not hesitate to set at naught the elementary principles of justice and in the name of State emergency, to trample under foot one of the most sacred of personal rights, the right of the subject to be heard before he is condemned. The disillusionment has come. We have to recast our estimate of English politicians and of English public men. The shock is great. It cannot fail to breed an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion, and create misgivings in the public mind even with regard to the measures of Government initiated with the best of motives. To-day we stand in the unhappy position of having lost all faith in both the political parties in England. If Mr. Morley can act so, what may we not expect of others, of men who have never cared for principles in politics, and who have made office the aim of their ambition? This is the one sentiment which is now uppermost in our minds. It is a great wrench when old-standing and long-cherished ideals are torn from their roots and cast aside as images of clay. But to-day this is the mental attitude of the educated class throughout India."

The bolder front assumed by the new leaders was partly a result of the development from within and partly of the wider movements in Europe and particularly Asia and Africa. European nationalism became more pronounced at the end of the nineteenth century : but the whole course of European history, since the time of the Reformation, was an object of keen interest to the Indian nationalists. The rise of the national movement since the Reformation, the great effort of the American colonies to be free from the domination of Great Britain and the Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution and the consequent re-construction of Europe, the slow and orderly movement for a better representative system in Great Britain, and more particularly the dramatic movements for unity of Germany under Bismarck and of Italy under Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi, very naturally stirred the blood of the ardent nationalist and created in him similar ambitions for his own country. The European democratic movement soon spread to Asia : and the events in Turkey, Persia, Egypt could not but move profoundly the Indian mind. The myth of an unchanging East was exploded : and the myth of an invincible West was equally exposed by the defeat of Italy at the hands of Abyssinia, and, above all, by the defeat of Russia by Japan. The emergence of Japan as a great power, which could hold its own as a military and industrial country with any of the great powers of the world, has exercised more influence on the Indian mind than any other external event. Japan was a small, obscure, and, above all, an Asiatic country. If Japan could successfully imitate Europe and beat Europe by European methods, why should India continue to cherish the legend of her intrinsic inferiority and radical incapacity? "The rise of Japan was regarded as a Divine dispensation, heralding the dawn of a new era of freedom and power for all the enslaved nations of the Orient." In the Congress, Surendranath Bannerjee said in 1902, "Our pupils have out-distanced us : and here we are,

hesitating, doubting, calculating, casting up moral results to satisfy ourselves that our gains have been commensurable to our sacrifices. Such indeed has not been the royal road to political enfranchisement. The triumphs of liberty have not thus been won. Japan is an object lesson which thrusts itself upon the view. Read her history : note her wonderful self-sacrifice, her marvellous power of adaptation, her patience, her fortitude, her indomitable energy and persistency, and let the most ancient of Eastern nations derive inspiration and guidance from the youngest, which has solved the riddle of Asiatic life, and has harmonised the conservatism of the East with the progressive forces of the West."

6. *THE SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE.*

There had been growing within the Congress slowly but surely a tradition, somewhat different from the usual tradition of the Liberals to look to Britain as a friend, and even saviour. This tradition was trying to divert the Indian mind from this policy of dependence upon the Empire to a new policy of self-help and self-reliance. This is the very essence of new nationalism. The report of the third Congress says: "Words are not enough. You must be up and doing." Dadabhai Naoroji said in the ninth Congress: "We must show that we believe in the justice of the cause by our earnestness and self-sacrifice: otherwise we can never succeed with the British people by mere declamations." Mr. Alfred Webb, as the President of the tenth Congress said: "Let it be your individual care to carry back from these Congresses into everyday life and everyday occupations, true elevation of mind, belief in your future, and your power to mould your future. This future depends more upon yourselves than upon any political or financial changes." Another speaker said: "You will achieve the real good, if you win the people for yourselves as others have

done. No man can give you political salvation. You **must** win it."

Bipin Chandra Pal expresses the new creed very early in a pamphlet called 'The Basis of Political Reform', in the following passages which can become the basis of a genuine constructive nationalism in India. "It is easy to give new political rights or confer valued political privileges upon a people; but it is not so easy, I fear, it is not at all possible, to endow them all of a sudden, by an edict or an ukase, with capacities for discharging satisfactorily the duties of new citizenship. These capacities must grow with the progress of ideas and the growth of culture in a nation, and with consequent development of its capacities for higher forms of life and thought, politics will necessarily grow, and when they rise and grow in this natural fashion, it no longer lies in the power of any man to check their growth or oppose their progress." and further, "It (the democratic idea) is as yet a mere exotic plant reared up in the hot-houses of our schools and colleges, in our association rooms and meeting halls, and it has now to be transplanted into our domestic and social circles; and when that has been done, when it has been naturalised in our homes, in our drawing rooms and our holy temples, when it has dug its roots into our religious systems, our social institutions and our domestic habits, then and only then, will it be a natural and a healthy growth in our politics: and then and only then, the possibilities of a political revolution upon a democratic basis can be realised in this country." Such was B. C. Pal in those days. Here he advocates a wise and cautious policy of an all-round democratic construction first in social life and then in politics, a process to be slowly brought about, for precipitation and hot-house culture can never lead to beneficial results.

But it is not so easy to develop democracy in this fashion. The principle of self-help thus passed into its

third phase. / The first phase was that of the Congress politicians, who, while they primarily looked to the Government for the initiation of all national policies, secondarily asked the people to look to themselves for their salvation. But they did not much approach the people. The second phase ✓ was that represented by Pal's utterance: here we are asked to go in for a period of intense preparation, leaving the Government alone. Then comes the third phase, when this new policy tries first to capture the Congress and then the people and develops a strong anti-British agitation. /

The agitation against the Partition brought about a veritable transformation in the country. The Partition very much reminds us of the greased cartridges of the Indian Mutiny days. It may or may not have justification; but it did set the nation ablaze. The extremist politicians were waiting for a suitable moment to launch their campaign; the Partition exactly gave them this opportunity. A wave of true national feeling swept first over Bengal and then all over India. The Indian Extremist saw his chance and pushed himself to the front.

Tilak now re-enters politics as one of the all-India leaders. The national sentiment which had spread like wild fire over the country gave him the necessary driving power to place his views before the whole country. Mass movements require mass leaders: and the Congress politicians, with a few exceptions, had so far specialised in the leadership of academic audiences. Tilak had been always working with the people, addressing his appeal to them in a language which they could understand, and working upon their mind in ways suitable to it. The Partition broke violently those barriers within which the Indian Liberal mind conveniently confined itself: and once the barriers were burst, the great flood came, requiring a different type of men, men who can ✓ "storm wind and ride the whirlwind." Sentiment is a very powerful factor in all great movements of the human

mind : and it is to a certain extent, an incalculable factor. But once it is roused, it transcends all limits and sweeps men off their feet in a mysterious way. In 1905, India experienced one of those great emotional storms which dumb-found and paralyse the acutest intellects and gives special opportunities to truly democratic leaders, who find themselves at home in those troubled times.

Tilak, as the exponent of new nationalism in the country, first tried to convert the Indian National Congress into a living and active organization, capable of leading and inspiring the masses. He concentrated, therefore, on the four-fold programme of Swaraj, Swadeshi, National Education, and Boycott. These cries had emerged in the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal and Tilak did a very astute thing in recommending them for adoption by the Congress. Thus at one stroke, he captured the imagination of the Bengalees and placed himself at the head of the rising tide of the Bengalee patriotism. His early efforts and sufferings in the Maharashtra had made his name dear to the imagination of the young idealist all over the country: and now he came forward and asked the Congress to make the struggle in Bengal a national struggle by an acceptance of the programme, which Bengal was evolving to meet its immediate problem.

On this issue, then, he invited the elderly leaders of the Congress to either join or fight. In 1905, Sir Pherozeshah was absent at the Benares meeting: and Gokhale accepted enthusiastically the Swadeshi and even the Boycott resolution to some extent. But the independent Boycott resolution was not passed. In 1905, Tilak went to Calcutta, to celebrate the Shivaji festival. B. C. Pal made the proposal, soon after, that Tilak should be invited to preside over the Congress. The Moderate Leaders were nervous and they cabled to Dadabhai Naoroji to return to India and preside over the Congress. Tilak however persisted in his agitation to revise

the programme of the Congress. On the 11th December, 1906, Tilak wrote in the *Kesari* : "We are sometimes told not to be disheartened. If the Moderates think that we are easily disappointed and lack grim determination, they are entirely mistaken. We have lost faith, not in the ultimate result, but in the dilatory activities of the Congress. To us, the holding of the Congress for three days in the year, the tepid work of the British Congress Committee and the occasional sending of a deputation to England-seems quite an insufficient work. Not that we have no faith in 'Constitutional Agitation.' We do not want to overthrow the English Government. Political rights will have to be fought for. The Moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be got by strong pressure. Will the Congress exert itself to apply this pressure ? That is the point, and if such a pressure is to be applied, the Congress must leave this holiday character, and develop into an organisation working continuously and energetically."

The Congress of 1906 met under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji, who himself laid down Swaraj as the goal of the Congress. The "Englishman" remarked that the President, being called upon to quench the flames of hatred towards the British Rule in India, had only used Kerosene for the purpose. The Congress also adopted the resolutions about Swadeshi, National Education, and Boycott. This was the second triumph of the New Party.

The Moderates were alarmed at this triumph of the Extremists: and the differences between the two parties were becoming daily more acute. The Surat Congress broke down as no settlement could be arrived at: and it further saw the secession of the new and more virile elements from the Congress for some years. The goal of the Congress was defined as follows:

"The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire. It seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration."

The Extremists felt this was a deliberate attempt to convert the Congress into a *party* organisation of the Moderates. The Bengal Extremists would not accept the ideal of colonial Self-Government: they stood up for independence. Evidently one or the other party had to go.

The Surat Congress represented a fateful moment in the history of the national struggle. The Government wanted to rally the moderates, and adopted a strong policy with regard to the extremist elements in the country. A common political front was broken: the Moderates continued to hold the show year after year: but they were steadily losing influence in the country. The Extremists could be easily isolated, when once they had not the support of the Congress behind them.

In the meantime the new anarchist party appeared and began its work of destruction; the Government adopted the vigorous policy of repression, and one after another, these leaders of the Extremist party disappeared from the scene. Tilak was prosecuted and sentenced in 1908, to six years transportation. His last words before going to the jail made a deep impression upon the public mind. ✓ "All I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher Powers that rule the destinies of things: and it may be the will of Providence, that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my sufferings than by my remaining free."

7. PRACTICE OF THE NEW PROGRAMME.

The Partition of Bengal convinced the politicians that mere public meetings and protests would not do. The overwhelming pressure of verbal agitation left the Government cold. Action was necessary, not mere words: action which may adequately give expression to the tense state of excitement of the public mind, and which may rouse the Government to a more vivid sense of the reality of the situation. The whole character of political life changed with the change of the character of nationalism behind it. The old political formulæ and methods—the methods of petition and protest—proved bankrupt. The people had an object lesson before them of the utter ineffectiveness of the political agitation on the old prescribed lines of the Liberal Party. The old leaders were simply dragged into new situations by the force of circumstances, but they felt themselves very uncomfortable in the new environment. Their policy was "Safety first": but if you place safety in the forefront of your programme, you generally achieve nothing especially when new and unprecedented situations make new and unprecedented calls. But the popular unrest instead of proving a stimulus to the Moderate politician proved a drag: the Moderate leader found himself more and more one with the authorities and more and more estranged from the popular feelings. He was accustomed to see the vision of a unified nation in the Congress-hall or small meeting-halls of big cities. He could not face the vision of this new nation,—excited, moving, demanding action. Here was a first-class opportunity for great leaders to shape and mould in their own way into lasting forms this new life, which made itself felt in the nation. But the Congress leaders were not made of the heroic mould: and they allowed the leadership of the country to pass into the hands of the Extremists.

The Partition brought together on a common platform poets like Tagore, Judges like Sir Gurudas, and distinguished noblemen and landlords like the Maharajas of Mymensingh and Kasimbazar. Yet Lord Curzon had the audacity to say that the agitation against the Partition was "manufactured."

The limit then was reached of the possibilities of this type of constitutional agitation: and the demand for action—prompt and effective action—spontaneously arose in the public mind. On the 7th of August, 1905, a large public meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall under the presidency of Maharaja of Kasimbazar declared "a general boycott of British goods as a protest against the proposed partition". On the 16th of October, 1905, the Partition came into force. On that day, "immense numbers of people in the two divisions of the partitioned province abstained from lighting their kitchen fire, went about barefooted, performed ceremonial baths in rivers or sacred tanks, and tied on one another's wrist the sacred *rakhi*, a piece of silk or cotton thread, as a symbol of fraternal unity".

The idea of boycott was a radical departure in Indian politics. There was the idea at first to adopt it as a temporary measure, as a protest against the arbitrary imposition of the Partition, with a view to bring pressure upon the British public opinion. The Chinese were just then organising a successful boycott of American goods as a protest against the exclusion of the Chinese immigrants into the U. S. A. It was at first decided to abstain from the purchase of British manufactures so long as the Partition Resolution was not withdrawn. But the pledges sent from Calcutta came back duly signed by large numbers of people, with the condition "until Partition is withdrawn" scored through.

The idea of Swadeshism was in the air : and it was felt that boycott should be used not merely as a political weapon against a political wrong, but also as an economic weapon against an economic wrong. It was meant to give that measure of protection which indigenous enterprise badly required against the economic exploitation of the country by the foreigner.

It is the volume of public feeling behind this movement that made it a success. Boycott and Swadeshi told immediately and effectively—both in the way of disturbing the demand for British manufactured goods, and creating both the demand and the supply of India-made goods. The '*Englishman*' an Anglo-Indian Calcutta paper wrote: "It is absolutely true that Calcutta warehouses are full of fabrics that cannot be sold. Many prominent Marwari firms have been absolutely ruined, and a number of the biggest European import houses have had either to close down their piece-goods branch, or to put up with a very small business where they previously had a large one...In boycott the enemies of the Raj have found a most effective weapon for injuring British interests in the country..." "The question is, however, what is the Government going to do about it? Boycott must not be acquiesced in, or it will more surely ruin British connection with India than an armed revolution." The '*Statesman*'—another English paper—wrote: "It would be unwise for the Government to assume that the whole movement is mere froth and insincerity. On the contrary, it has been apparent that the people of the province are learning other and more powerful methods of protest. The Government will recognise the new note of practicality which the present situation brought into political agitation."

The Industrial revival followed : and a new impetus was given to the indigenous enterprise in India. New

factories sprang up: new insurance companies were started: and the industrialisation of the country on modern lines went forward. It was hard for the people to go in for the rough and costly Swadeshi articles in preference to cheap refined foreign goods. But once the great national impulse was roused, it worked wonders. The Swadeshi sentiment became the greatest constructive force in all departments of thought and life. The students in schools and colleges refused in many cases to touch the examination books made of foreign paper. To appear in a class in foreign dress became very dangerous. Women surpassed men in their national enthusiasm. Surendra-nath Bannerjee refers to the case of his grand-daughter of five returning a pair of shoes sent by a relative of hers, because they were of foreign make. In some districts, the Government officers could not get a piece of Manchester cloth because the cloth-dealers would not sell it, unless they had permission from the local leaders.

The most remarkable thing about the movement is not the greater demand for indigenous articles; but the birth of a new sentiment, seeking expression in concrete ways, and making itself felt in all departments of life. It became a period of general renaissance. A new literature sprang up. The cry "*Bande Mataram!*" ("Hail Mother!") became the symbol of the new movement, not only in Bengal but all over India. The greatest contribution of this movement is the spirit of creativeness which it released in the nation. "When the public is roused by any stirring event, its hidden springs touched, and its slumbering forces set in motion by some great calamity or by the passionate desire to work out a cherished ideal, promising to unfold a new chapter in a nation's history, the moral atmosphere becomes fruitful under the pressure of the ideas: for the mind of the whole community is at work, and makes its contribution to the sum total of national thought."

National schools and colleges sprang up to receive students, who were thrown out of the Government schools under the disciplinary rules and regulations adopted with a view to check the manifestations of the new spirit both in and out of educational institutions, and to give them a training suitable to the new demands. The papers like the *Samdhya* and the *Bande Mataram*, started by the Extremist leaders, began to effect a rapid revolution in people's minds.

The Government found that its prestige was at stake, and began to take vigorous measures to combat this new mentality. In the Barisal district, the Superintendent of Police and the Collector could not buy a piece of Manchester cloth, because there the orders of Ashwini Kumar Dutt were better obeyed on these matters than the wishes of the officials. Sir William Bamfylde Fuller found that even in his presence as a Lieutenant-Governor, the people continued to give ovations to the national leaders, and at one Railway Station, it is said that even the railway porters refused to touch his luggage. He resolved to use force. The Gurkha troops were sent to Barisal to crush the movement: outrages on the people by the troops were reported: and the people had to maintain calm under grave provocation. The Bengal Provincial Conference was broken up by the order of the magistrate. Thus repression began, the press was gagged to some extent, and a regular tug of war began between the Government and the nationalist forces. In 1907 came the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai—a Punjab leader. The cry of Bal-Pal-Lal was heard everywhere. These were the national heroes of the hour: B. C. Pal of Bengal, B. G. Tilak from Poona and Lala Lajpat Rai from the Punjab. Arobindo Ghose was in a way the greatest intellectual and spiritual exponent of the movement: B. C. Pal gave an intellectual formulation of the underlying ideals of the movement,

Lala Lajpat Rai gave us a more realistic analysis, both political and economic, of all the outstanding issues in the terms of this new nationalism, while Lokmanya Tilak remained the head of the Party: for his was the courage, the capacity for martyrdom, and the strong will-power which would not yield or bend to the opposing forces, however formidable they might look.

8. *APPEAL TO THE GOLDEN PAST.*

The prophets of this new nationalism started with a definite reading of the past Indian history. For them, Indian history did not begin with 1757 and 1857: neither the Battle of Plassey, nor the reconquest of India after the Mutiny and the assumption of the sovereignty of India by the King in Parliament, were the starting-points of the rise of the Indian people. The Moderates looked not to the past, but to the future: to them the past was a thing to be forgotten, and the sooner it was forgotten, the better. This attitude was not shared by all the Moderates: but the summary way in which they have generally disposed of the past almost implies it. But the new nationalists looked not only beyond the British period of Indian history, but also beyond the Mahommedan period of Indian History to a very great extent. The grandeur of the historic past was occasionally invoked by orators like Surendranath Bannerjee; but on the whole the tendency of the Indian Liberals was to dwell mostly on the present and the future rather than on the past. But this new Party went much deeper into history: and connected the Hindus of to-day at least in historic imagination with the Hindus of the Vedic times, of the age of the Mahabharata, of the age of Asoka and Chandra Gupta. It was largely under the influence of these nationalists that a new school of Indian history arose, which has been concentrating its attention upon the glories of the Golden

Age of Indian History. Nor was the medieval period barren of historic romance for the Hindus. Pratap Rana of Chitor, or Shivaji of later days, stood out in history as redoubtable champions for the cause of Hindu independence and culture. The Hindu of to-day is the descendant of the Hindu of those days. He has merely forgotten himself. The moment he shakes off this mood of self-depreciation, he will find himself quite different and quite worthy of his illustrious ancestors.

Thus before the birth of Christ, "India possessed a marvellous civilisation, a wonderful literature, a well-organised social system, a conception of Government based on the legal rights of subjects *inter se* as against the ruling monarch. The democratic institutions too were not unknown to India". The conception of an all-Indian empire is also familiar both in actual history and in Sanskrit literature. Vincent Smith says that the civil and military system of government during the reign of Chandra Gupta proves clearly "that Northern India in the time of Alexander the Great had attained to a high degree of civilisation, which must have been the product of evolution continued through many centuries. Upto the thirteenth century, India had been practically independent. The Muslim Rule lasted for six centuries with varying vicissitudes of fortune. The Deccan, Rajputana, and Central India were always independent until the rule of Akbar."

The Muslim Rule in India was not a foreign rule. The Muslims came from outside India: but they settled in India and made it their home. They were "Indians by birth, Indians by marriage, and Indians by death." They were born in India, they married in India, and they died in India. Their revenues were spent in India. Their bias against the Hindus was religious, not political. If the racial question came into prominence, it was between Mahommedans and Mahommedans.

In the golden days of Moghul Rule, the Hindus were not only theoretically eligible for, but often actually occupied, the highest offices under the crown, next after the princes of royal blood. They were governors of provinces, generals of armies, and rulers of districts and divisions. Looked at from the political and the economic point of view, the Government was as much indigenous as under Hindu rule. The Muslims never attempted to disarm the population: nor did they prohibit the manufacture or import of arms. They had no Lancashire industries to protect, and were under no necessity of imposing excise duties on Indian-made goods. They eventually evolved a language which is as much Indian as any other vernacular spoken in India to-day. The Muslim rulers were in no way concerned with the prosperity of the labouring classes of Persia or Afghanistan. Their Government was thus an Indian Government, and not a foreign Government.

History does not record a single instance of India being ruled from without by a people of purely non-Indian blood, and in the interests of another country and another people, before the British. India was always an empire by herself. She was never a part of another empire much less a dependency. She had her own army, her own navy, her own flag. She had her industries, and manufactured the goods she consumed. Anyone wanting the privilege of trading with India under special terms had to obtain the sanction of her Government, as the East India Company did. There was no India Office in Arabia or in Persia, or in Kabul, to which the people of India looked for initiative in the affairs of their native land.

There was a golden age in India. C. R. Das also drew a beautiful picture of India of yesterday and contrasted it with the India of to-day (1917): "We had corn in our granaries, our tanks supplied us with fish: and the eye was soothed and refreshed by the limpid blue of the sky and

the green foliage of the tree. All day long the peasant toiled in the fields: and at eve, returning to his lamp-lit home, he sang the song of his heart. But these things are no more. The granaries are empty of their golden wealth: the kine are dry and give no milk; and the fields, once so green are dry and parched with thirst. What remains is the dream of a former happiness and the languor and misery of insistent pain."

9. THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE BRITISH RULE.

Contrasted with the view of the Liberals that the British Empire has a divine or Providential origin and a divine or Providential meaning, is the view of the Extremists that this Empire is essentially of the earth, earthy: that it has its origin in the humdrum commercial motives and the gross desire to enrich oneself at the expense of one's neighbour. The motives were anything but divine: the processes by which it was won and consolidated were anything but divine. The deceit and chicanery, the subtle Machiavellian diplomacy, the policy of setting Indians against Indians, the trick of treating a treaty or a document as a scrap of paper when it came in the way of expansion: all these are clearly marked at every stage of British progress in India. The Empire started as a haphazard plunder, and ended in being a perfectly well-organized exploitation. Indian blood was freely poured and Indian money was freely spent in this conquest of India. It is not a conquest of India by Britain in a purely military sense: it is a conquest of India by the British through Indians, by all the processes of skill, cunning, diplomacy, fraud and force. Upto 1857, the whole business—partly commercial, partly political—was carried on in the name of the East India Company: this was a convenient way of avoiding all responsibility. "Hindus were played off against Mahommedans, and *vice versa*, States and

principalities against States and Principalities, Jats against Rajputs and Rajputs against Jats, Mahrattas against both, Rohillas against Bundelas and Bundelas against Pathans, and so on. Treaties were made and broken without the least scruple, sides were taken and changed and again changed, without the least consideration of honour or faith. Thrones were purchased and sold to the highest bidder. Military support was purchased and given like merchandise. Servants were induced to betray their masters, soldiers to desert flags, without any regard to the morality of the steps taken. Pretences were invented and occasion sought for involving States and Principalities in wars and trouble. Laws of all kinds, national and international, moral and religious, were all for the time thrown to the dogs. Neither minors nor widows received any consideration; the young and the old were treated alike. The one object in view was to loot, to plunder, and to make an empire. Everything was sub-ordinated to that end...Policies (fiscal, industrial, religious, educational) were all discussed and formulated from one point of view, viz. the establishing of British authority, the consolidation of British Rule, and pecuniary gain to the East India Company. If one were to pile up 'scraps of paper' which the British destroyed or disregarded in the making of their Indian Empire, one could fill a decent-sized box therewith. We do not know of anything in Indian history which could be compared with the deeds of this century. It was a century of consistent, prolonged, and deliberate spoliation, subtle and scientific sometimes, in the persuance of which all laws of morality, humanity and fairness were tossed aside, and the object in view was persistently and doggedly kept in view and achieved. The history of British 'conquest' of India from 1757 to 1857 A. D., is a continuous record of political charlatany, political faithlessness, and political immorality. It was a true triumph of British 'diplomacy.' The British founders of the Indian Empire had the true Imperial in-

instincts of empire-builders. They cared little for the means which they employed. Moral theorists cannot make empires. Empires can only be conceived by Napoleons, Bismarcks, Disraelis, Richelieus, and Machiavellis. They can only be built by Clives, Hastings, Wellesleys and Dalhousies."

Such is the origin of this "Government established by law."

The vision of India as an integral part of the British Empire does not move the imagination of the Extremist as it does that of the Moderates. He does not see in it a fact to be very proud of. India is for the first time in her history reduced to the position of a dependency: for the first time she is ruled from the outside, for the first time her affairs are managed by people who come and go, under laws made outside of India. "All the chief offices of state, the direction and control of armies, the administration of revenues, of divisions, of districts, the coining of money, the administration of justice, the imposition of taxes, etc., are generally in the hands of foreigners who have absolutely no interest in the country, except as servants of the Crown, persons whose interest in the country ceases with the expiration of their term of service."

For the first time in the political history of India, it has become a political disqualification to be an Indian. Until recently only Indians were forbidden to carry arms except by special permission. "In the hills of his own native country, where his parents, grand-parents, and great-grand-parents before him were born, where they perhaps ruled or held positions of trust, where they died, where they fertilised the soil with their blood, and where less than a century ago, they enjoyed absolute freedom, he, their immediate descendant, was not allowed to carry an umbrella over his head to give him shelter from rain or sun, without the risk of being insulted by the lowest among the foreign

masters of his country."

Inferiority has become the badge of his tribe. He carries it everywhere, even in the British Colonies. He is welcome there as a slave, an indentured coolie, but not as an equal. If he is a Pariah at home, how can he be anything but a Pariah abroad? "The self-governing dominions of the British Empire have built a solid wall of most revolting and inhuman laws and regulations against his entry into those dominions."

The iron of political subjection thus enters the sensitive Indian soul. Everything in the world reminds him of his inferior status: he realises, wherever he goes outside India, that his country does not count in the world, that in the great mass of civilised humanity, he is a mere cipher.

The British must be a very strange, un-imaginative people, if they cannot understand the inwardness of this feeling of humiliation and shame which comes over an Indian everywhere. Will the British people accept quietly the rule of the Germans? Will they welcome German efficiency in preference to British self-government? Will they be content with trade returns, or the blessings of peace and order, or those of impartial justice, or the blessings of excellent communications? If not, why should they judge Indians by different standards? Why should they assume that the Indian is different, that he is accustomed to subjection, that he glories in subjection?

Granting for a moment that the British have brought civilisation to our lives, that they have given us their language and institutions, that they have made us secure against disorders from within and attacks from without, that they have made us materially prosperous and happy, can all this compensate for the loss of manhood which is involved in political bondage? "Chains are chains, no matter if they be gilded. Can the wealth of the whole

world be put in the scales against liberty and honour? What would it avail if one were to get the sovereignty of the world but lose his own soul?"

Indians do not want to be perpetually treated as helots, as "dumb, driven cattle." They have begun their battle for freedom. A policy of repression may temporarily prevail; but the cause of freedom in the long run flourishes all the more because of these temporary set-backs. The case of Lokamanya Tilak is the case of the nationalist in a nut-shell. The more he was persecuted, the greater and greater he emerged. Each time that he went to jail, his personality gained more and more additional weight in the country. His first imprisonment made him the leader of his small party, and to some extent of the Maharashtra; his second imprisonment made him a national hero and the leader of the Extremist Party: his third imprisonment transformed him for a time into the only all-India leader of the Progressive Party.

10. LOSS OF FAITH IN THE BRITISH.

The new Party was the outcome of the complete loss of faith of the people in the benevolent intentions of the Government. The British Government had so far cast a spell upon the Indian mind, and the Indian mind believed that in course of time, under British leadership and guidance, it would attain the full realisation of its destiny. But now these leaders were completely dis-illusioned: and they found that they were living in a fool's paradise. They suddenly began to realise that it was essentially a foreign Government. It is by its very nature bound to be hostile to the interests and aspirations of the people. The Government established peace: but what is the nature of this peace? As Dadabhai said: "We were prevented from going at each other's throats, so that a foreigner might go at the throat of

us all." This is the real meaning of Pax Britannica. The fundamental reason for the whole apparatus of civilisation, which they tried to instal in the country, was to facilitate the work of government of the vast country by a few foreigners, and its exploitation by the British commercial and manufacturing interests. In politics there is nothing like benevolence. "You can at times successfully appeal to the humanity and benevolence of individuals, but to hope for justice and benevolence from a nation is hoping against hope. The rule of a foreign democracy is in this respect, the most dangerous. The democracy is swayed by so many diverse interests that it is impossible to expect anything like unanimity or even a preponderance of opinion in dealing justly with a subject race, because justice to a subject race often clashes with the interest of some class of the ruling democracy. Whenever an attempt is made to do justice to a subject race, that class rises up, raises a storm, and prevents the Government from doing the right thing. Look at the history of the cotton duties in India and everyone will see the truth of this."

India brought to the British people wealth and material prosperity. The nation was content with this. Their moral sense was always soothed and calmed by the assurances of their statesmen that their aims in British India were beneficent and that they were steadily pursued. In fact, democracies cannot be expected to have much leisure and the requisite capacity for a calm and critical examination of the affairs of other people. They have their own problems, they have their own battles to fight. They have not much direct access to the Indian newspapers and other Indian literature.

It is not in the nature of things that a foreign government assumes a really benevolent rôle towards an alien subject people.

It is, therefore, one of the first essentials of starting a genuine struggle for the Indian cause to have no illusions about the essential nature of the British rule in India. \ This party made it clear that the British rule could only stand primarily and above all for British interests only: and that these British interests conflicted to a very great extent with the essential Indian interests. \ This is a proposition which can be deduced *a priori* from the very constitution of human nature itself, from the very nature of social arrangements. But it can be equally borne out by the facts of history, by the actual record of the British rule in India. The Moderates did a great service to the country by laying before it again and again all the relevant facts regarding the tale of Indian economic and administrative exploitation. But they went on fondly believing that this state of things was the outcome of ignorance or removable prejudice on the part of the ruling people: and once this mist of ignorance and prejudice was cleared away, there would be a fuller assertion of justice to the Indian people. Here they were living merely in a dream-land. A foreign government is a foreign government. This is the first fact to be grasped in Indian politics. [It is not, it cannot be, it can never take the place adequately of, an indigenous government. At the best it is something like a step-mother; but a step-mother very naturally first looks to her own children, and suspecting a perpetual conflict of interests between her own children and her step-children, is mostly, equally naturally, at least internally indifferent, if not hostile, to the interests of the step-children. To imagine that the British people came from a distance of thousands of miles away on a perfectly altruistic mission, to solve Indian problems for Indians, is nonsense. The Moderates believed that the fundamental purpose of the British rule in India is divine; there was a generous impulse in the very heart of the Britisher which made him spread the blessings of peace and order, of liberty and culture, wherever he went. They took

political declarations at their face-value: they took them as gospel truth. But what are the facts? Where do you see in actual events the manifestation of this humanitarian, liberty-loving character of the British? The Extremists asked the people to discard the illusion once and for all, of British benevolence, of British generosity, of British mission of civilisation. Politics must be based not on fancies, but on facts. The sooner we put ourselves in a right position towards the British masters of India, the better.

There is a fundamental conflict of ideals here. The Moderates accepted the imperial ideal as a welcome fact. The Extremists aimed to get rid of it as conveniently as they could. The Moderates saw the dearest hopes and the fondest aspirations of India bound up inseparably with the Empire. The Extremists saw India's only hope in the weakening and then the severance of the imperial tie. The Empire was father, mother, guardian, friend, philosopher to the Liberals; to the Extremists, it was an arbitrary infliction, a cruel dispensation of fate, a purely repressive and destructive force. The Moderates therefore preached loyalty to the Empire as a part of their duty to the country; loyalty to the Empire was devotion to the country; and devotion to the country meant loyalty to the Empire. The Extremists maintained that the slaves cannot be loyal to their masters, they have to obey as a matter of compulsion; therefore, they cannot obey as a matter of choice. Bondage is bondage; and the slave reaches his first stage of freedom when he recognizes bondage as bondage. The Moderates called bondage liberty, called bondage the one condition of India's fulfilment; the Extremists said that this was the lowest state that could be reached by a conquered people, when they enthusiastically greeted and hugged to their bosom the gilded chains of political slavery. The first task therefore of

the politician in India is to kill this conception of romantic loyalty of the conquered people of India to the British Conqueror. The British Clives and Dalhousies should not be hailed as messengers of God sent by Him to deliver India from the horrors of foreign invaders like Jhengiz Khan or Timur; for they themselves are foreign invaders, and are more subtle and systematic in their cruelty than the so-called barbarian invaders. How can Indians be asked to accept loyalty to their foreign invaders as a part of their religion, as a part of their patriotism ?

¶ The worst feature of the British rule is not its force, but its cunning diplomacy. The mailed fist is covered by a velvet glove. The realistic policy, which disarmed the whole nation, soon followed the beautifully worded great Proclamation of the Crown. The Proclamation was meant to serve as a narcotic to dull the political and religious sensibility of the Indian. It was a cloak which covered a stern reality of a scientifically organised foreign despotism of the British. For fifty years, the Indian politicians lived upon the words of the Proclamation, and asked the country to believe in the mystical efficacy of the words, which came on such a solemn occasion from such a solemn personage as the Queen. The Proclamation of the Queen was the greatest diplomatic stroke of the British people. And when that Proclamation began to lose its efficacy, other similar declarations have followed: thus keeping alive the state of contentment and acquiescence of the Indian mind. These sugar-coated declarations are the real foundations of the British rule in India. They capture not merely the body as physical force does; they pervert and distort the vision of the soul.

The Extremists refer to the famous attempt on the part of the bureaucrats to whittle down the Proclamation, and explain it away. Sir James Stephen said that the

Proclamation was unconstitutional, because it was not passed in Parliament. Lord Curzon asked us to attend to the qualifying phrase, "So far as it may be." "So far as it may be," B. C. Pal pointed out, "now means-so far as is consistent with the preservation of the supreme authority of the British in India." It means according to Lord Curzon, "you may be qualified by education and character to manage your own affairs, you may be better qualified than those who are brought out from across the seas to manage or mis-manage the British administration, but as long as the administration in India continued to be British, so long the direction of affairs must rest with the British. Therefore, you will be given every opportunity of carrying out orders, but not to make one single order."

There is no justification for anyone to mistake the nature or character of British imperialism in India. The English party divisions may be significant to the British nation. But India is outside the pale of party politics which means that all the parties, Labour, Conservative, Liberal, are unanimous as regards this big business. Lajpat Rai thus tranchantly exposes the logic of the British Imperialist. "Arguments and ideas do not impress them. Political morality they have none, except such as suits their imperial aims. Appeals to their sense of justice, fair play, and humanity, are absolutely useless. The moment you question their final supremacy, they change colour and forget all political principles. They are awfully clever and past masters in the art of cant. They mean what they say, but you do not understand them. The political terms they use have meanings quite different from those in ordinary dictionaries. When they make any political promises, or give any political pledges, they are quite sincere, but they are not bound by them. Firstly, all political promises and pledges are variable by circumstances. Secondly, their interpretation rests with them.

Thirdly, they can easily explain to you that it is to your advantage and to your interest that they should not fulfil their promises or carry out their pledges. Their intentions are always benevolent. They exist and exert themselves only for the benefit of humanity and advance of civilisation. When cornered, they bring in the theory of trust. They are trustees, and in the discharge of their trust, they must remain in possession of your country and have full control over your purse. They must supply your poor people with cheap goods."

The illusion, therefore, that the British people are in India to lead us to the realisation of our goals must go. This is the fundamental illusion of the Moderates' creed. But we may go further. The British administrators will not only never help our people out of their difficulties; they will try to hinder us in every possible way. "We must be prepared for the bitterest opposition from them. In opposing the formation, the expression, and the assertion of our national will, they will use all the means and the power at their disposal to thwart us, to crush us, and to convince us of our 'folly'. They will use all the forces of their 'law'. But over and above that, they will even use violence and have recourse to all the powers they possess regardless of legal forms. Above all, they will divide us and use our own people against us. They will appeal to the self-interest of the big land-lords, the big bankers, the big lawyers, the big manufacturers and the big officials among us and seek their co-operation for crushing the national will. They will make frantic appeals to our 'patriotism,' and to our moderation also. Yes, they will invoke the very name of our country in order to induce us to desist from what they call our 'folly', 'madness' and even 'treachery'. Patriots they will denounce as traitors and the latter they will honour as patriots. And the worst is that they will succeed (in fact, they have already

succeeded) in winning over a good many of our patriots and publicists to their side. Remember, the best, the ablest, and the most cunning among us are no match for them. They know these arts to perfection. They have practised them for centuries and for generations. The ablest and cleverest among us are mere children in politics in their presence. We are no match for them in argument, in dissimulation, in diplomacy, in tactics, in political strategy, and in negotiations."

The English have come to be one of the imperial peoples of the world to-day. They have to develop all the art and cunning of imperialists. Their history everywhere is the same. The lessons of English History are writ large upon the map of the world. Take the case of Ireland and study what English rule implies. The biographer of Parnell says: "He (Parnell) regarded the moral sermons preached by the English statesmen and publicists as the merest cant. Morality was the last thing the English thought of in their dealings with Ireland. There are men who can readily argue themselves into the belief that whatever serves their purpose is moral." Parnell himself says in one of his speeches: "I have always endeavoured to teach my countrymen, whether at home or abroad, the lesson of self-reliance. I do not depend upon English political parties. I do not depend upon the good wishes of any section of the English. I have never known any important section of any country, that has assumed the Government of another country, to awaken to the real necessities of the position, until compelled to do so."

The Radical Nationalist virtually agreed with Macaulay in considering the foreign yoke to be the heaviest of all yokes. It is impossible to mend it; we have only to end it. The talk of mending, by introducing gradual reforms by an adjustment here and an adjustment there, is relevant only with regard to indigenous governments.

There is a fundamental difference between a national government and a foreign government. The interests of a foreign government are always opposed to the interests of the conquered people; the interests of the national government are opposed to the interests of the people at the most in certain particulars. Under the circumstances, it is never desirable to have even a benevolent and liberal foreign government in preference to a national government, even though the latter is despotic and oppressive; because the foreign government "is unnatural, a denial of your very existence as a nation, a deliberate attempt to reduce you to the position of beasts of burden"; we may even go further and say that the more enlightened, the more benevolent, and the more liberal a foreign government is, the more dangerous it is for our national existence, because it makes us forget that we are slaves. Thus the very characteristics, which recommended the British imperialism to the Moderates, are the qualities which make it odious to the Extremist. The Extremist would always consider a Viceroyalty like that of Lord Ripon as a positive curse and the Viceroyalty like that of Lord Curzon as a positive blessing; because the former created false hopes in the Moderates and sent the whole nation to sleep for a generation; while the latter roused it from its slumber, and made it conscious of its existence.

It is said that a subject nation can have no politics. What is really meant is that the politics of a subject people is different from the politics of a free people. The first truth which a subject people should grasp is that it is a subject people. The clever way in which the British manage this dependency has often made it forget that it is a mere dependency. The Moderate politics was completely unreal, because it lost sight of this elementary fact.

It may sound strange, but it is none the less true, that the British Government is a foreign Government, is a new

idea in our politics. The Government owes it to the Moderates that they did not allow this idea to enter into people's heads for a generation. It was not the fault of the Moderates or a deliberate trick on their part. It was the outcome of the mentality produced by the new education sponsored by Macaulay. England conquered India through Wellesley and Dalhousie or Clive and Hastings; but this conquest was a superficial conquest; it was the conquest of territory only. The real conquest was that effected by Macaulay. The young students from our Universities were dazzled by the glamour of British education; they felt themselves to be the spiritual children of the people of the West. The whole Moderate creed is the outcome of this mentality. The Moderates wanted not less of English administration but more: they did not want to weaken the foreign government but to strengthen it. But the Extremist said that foreign government was pure poison, and if the poison happened to be sweet, so much the worse for us. The sweetness in it often makes people forget the sting of the business. This is precisely the case with the trap deliberately prepared for Moderates. They had their moments of bitterness, of pain, of humiliation; but they thought that their faith in the Empire must be robust enough to overcome all obstacles, conquer all misgivings. The moment a declaration is made, or some move is promised, they are immensely satisfied and they go about their business rejoicing. This makes the rise and growth of Indian nationalism as a distinct power and an independent entity, an impossibility. If the child is for ever to be tied in this way to the mother's breast it cannot progress; it cannot develop its own individuality. The Extremists recognised that if foreign government were not recognised as foreign, India would never be recognised as India. This was the root of their agitation and hence we find them quarrelling with the British

Government not only because it is despotic, but also because it sometimes appears to be benevolent. ¶ Good government, therefore, is not only no substitute for self-government; it is a positively mischievous thing, when it is the good government by a foreign agency. ¶ Of all forms of despotism, we are told, a benevolent despotism is the worst, because benevolence makes people acquiesce in the despotism. ¶ The demand for Swaraj is the outcome of the conflicts between the Government and the people; this is not a theory but a fact proved again and again in the history of India. ✓ { Lord Curzon's kicks may be therefore more greeted than the kisses of Lord Ripon. "You contemplate all the good things which the Government can do for you; you meditate on the honours that the Government can shower on you, you meditate on the high offices which the Government may give you. You may get the High Court Judgeships here, a membership of the Legislative Council there, an Advocate-Generalship in another part of the globe. Now you think of all this, and thinking of all this you feel an attachment for this, and feeling an attachment for this you desire to have this, and the feeling of the desire to have this kills your consciousness of separation from this. ✓ And therefore, good Government, pleasant Government, pleasurable associations with the Government, they can never make for Swaraj, because the first thing to Swaraj is the perception of this, that there is the eternal natural conflict between the self and not-self in the political affairs in this country."

The religion of loyalty to the Empire, therefore, should now give way to a new cult—the religion of disloyalty to the Empire. Nothing more misled the national mind, nothing has more put it on the wrong track than the demand on the part not only of the bureaucrats but on the part of the Indian Liberals that we must enthusiastically greet and cordially embrace the Empire ideal. But the more you

worship the Empire the less you will care for the nation. No man can serve both God and Mammon. (No Indian patriot can serve both the Empire and his mother-land.) The Congress went on loudly proclaiming, in season and out of season, its loyalty, invincible loyalty to the British. But do the British statesmen believe in this loyalty? If they considered the Indians to be loyal, would they ever disarm the Indian people? The right to possess and use arms is a rudimentary right of free loyal citizenship. The deprivation of the right "inflicts both a physical and grave moral wrong on the community which is thus disarmed and emasculated. It strikes at the very root of man's dignity, and takes away from him the potent instrument not merely of self-defence, but of self-control and discipline." The vociferous loyalty of the Liberals has not touched the British heart nor the British policy; it has enabled the British to make a capital out of it before the civilised world. No Englishman could be sincerely loyal to a Power that has taken away his liberty and reduced him to the position which the Indians now occupy; how then can he believe in the sincerity of these frequent declarations of loyalty?

The Extremists, therefore, contend that the only loyalty possible to a subject nation is that of passive submission to a foreign rule. It may be dictated by fear, prudence, by incapacity to do anything better, but it cannot be the outcome of a sincere love. It would be the height of absurdity to raise his sense of loyalty to the dignity of patriotism. The idea of 'patriotism towards the Empire' is monstrous. There is nothing in common between the loyalty to a foreign government and love for one's own country; the one is very often the negation of the other. Jingoism, however, is not content with mere passive loyalty; it wants an active enthusiasm towards the Empire in the subject race. It puts "a gloss of high and pure motives on its basest and meanest acts, whereby it deprives others of

the simplest rights of humanity and the priceless treasure of liberty." Empires are based not on right but on might.✓ As Herbert Spencer points out: "Not the derivation of the word only but all its uses and associations imply the thought of predominance-imply a correlative subordination. Actual or potential coercion of individuals or communities is necessarily involved in the conception." How can intelligent Indians be called upon to gloat over the fact of their servility and make a new god not of India but of British Empire?

It is very necessary therefore to bring plain common sense into our political life. Moderate politics are really based on fear; they have not the boldness to call a spade a spade. Unless we shake off this fear of the foreign government, there can be no healthy politics in the country. "Our whole life from top to bottom smacks of fear, deadly fear of losing in the estimation of those whom in our heart of hearts we believe to be only usurpers; fear of losing the sunshine of the smile of those whom we believe to be day and night engaged in the exploitation of our country and the spoliation of our people, fear of offending the false gods that have by fraud or force taken possession of our bodies and souls, fear of being shut up in a dungeon or prison-house."

II. FAILURE OF THE CONGRESS.

The Congress Movement in 1885 was essentially an English product. The idea was born first in Lord Dufferin's brain, who suggested it to Mr. Hume. Even the Governor of Bombay was suggested as the first president. This official inspiration condemns the Congress in the nationalist's eyes. "Who has ever heard of a political movement being initiated by a despotic government, which is foreign in its agency and foreign in its methods?"

It may be further stated that the Congress was started at least partly to save British Empire from danger. Mr. Hume admitted that "a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces generated by British connection, was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety-valve than the Congress Movement could possibly be devised." He further said that "no choice was left to those who gave the primary impetus to the movement. The ferment, the creation of Western ideas, education, invention, and appliances, was at work with a rapidly increasing intensity, and it became of paramount importance to find for its products an overt and constitutional channel for discharge, instead of leaving them to fester as they had already commenced to do, under the surface." The most important point of view, says Hume, is the further maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire: and from this point of view the question is not whether the Congress is primature but whether the country will accept it.

If such were the original motives of the founders of the Congress, there is nothing surprising in the way in which the Congress developed. The Congress gave full expression to the prevailing discontent on specific problems and thus relieved the tension in the country to a considerable extent. In fact, the Government had no more powerful ally than the Indian National Congress. The devotion to the Empire became virtually the creed of Congress: and nationalism merely appeared as a product of imperialism, as a support to imperialism, as a subordinate phase of imperialism. The struggle for national expression never acquired a distinct and independent existence. The Moderates were as much frightened at this new phenomenon called Indian nationality trying to assert its independent status, as the British bureaucrats.

The Congress sprang up in an atmosphere dominated by the official tradition. It was thought that no movement

had any chance of even a temporary success unless it had official support behind it. Mr. Gokhale said that "no Indian could have started the Indian National Congress", that "if the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the official distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or other to suppress the movement."

This may or may not be correct; but it certainly accurately reflects not only the mentality of the Congress when it was born, but also the mentality of the leaders right upto 1916. The initiative for freedom may not be an easy thing, and unless it comes from within, and unless it has the determination to fight all opposition, it is not likely to yield any result. Caution may enable us to usher in a movement like the Congress; caution may enable us to carry it on from year to year but as long as our dominant mentality is that of caution, circumspection, and fear, so long we cannot expect the Congress to be a real fighting force in the cause of freedom. The whole Congress literature is pervaded by this atmosphere of the fear of the authorities: and consequently we miss the really revolutionary tone there altogether. Laboriously compiled and even brilliantly expressed oratorical statements are there: but there are not many passages which can stir up the blood of the people and fire them with ambition to do great things for their country.

The leaders were more or less like professors constructing an academic explanation, or like lawyers, a legal vindication of their position. If they lacked courage, how could they inspire courage in the people? It may not be correct to say that Congress politics was nothing but a grab for the honours and emoluments of the office; but barring some distinguished cases like those of Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the Congress did

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not produce any national heroes whose courage or self-sacrifice or martyrdom put a new life into the people. The leaders lacked that real faith in the cause for which they were fighting: and the people therefore remained on the whole unaffected by their rhetoric. They were men who talked: they were not men who could act.

Lajpat Rai thus summarises the causes of the Congress failure :—

(1) The Congress movement was started by an Englishman, at the suggestion of an English pro-consul. It was not inspired by the people nor devised or planned by them. It was not a movement from within. It was guided and controlled mostly by Indians who were candidates for Government favours. Some of them were actually in Government service; some were in professions allied to Government services. They would be associated with the movements as long as they could safely do so; but they would not risk their careers or make any sacrifices.

(2) The Congress movement was not a popular movement. The leaders did not care to enlist popular enthusiasm or interest. The movement was therefore confined deliberately to the intelligentsia only.

(3) There was no grandeur or elevation in their aims and ideals. "A national movement, demanding only a few concessions and not speaking of the liberties of the nation and of its ideals, is never an effective movement. It is at best an opportunist movement. It is mischievous in so far as it diverts attention from substantial nation-building and character-making. It brings fame without sacrifice. It opens opportunities for treacheries and hypocrisies. It enables some people to trade in the name of patriotism."

12. THE IDEAL.

The Nationalists for the first time attempted to place an ideal before the country. The Liberal creed was slow and halting; and their very cautiousness and prudence prevented them from framing an ideal for themselves or for the people. They chose to march from one change to another; they wanted the correction of this wrong or another; they wanted a little better government, a little more Liberal administration, a little more scope for Indian talent, a little more encouragement to Indian industries, a little more representation of Indians in the Councils of Government. They were at one with the Government as regards fundamentals: but they differed as regards details here and details there, and they differed as regards the pace of the movement. The officials formed the Conservative party as it were; and the Moderates formed the Liberal and more progressive party. But at bottom both agreed that the march of Indian mind is bound to be slow; and any hasty changes for which the Indian mind was not really prepared were bound to be mischievous.

The advent of the impatient political idealist changed all this. The Liberals were hurried on from the ideal of enlightened and humane and just administration, to the ideal of a more representative form of government, to a qualified form of responsible government of the colonial type. They had to meet the popular wishes: and they found it impossible after 1905 to postpone a clear and bold formulation of their ideal.

The new party deserves the credit of demanding a clear-cut enunciation of the goal towards which the Congress was moving. What then should be the goal? Here a practical politician like Tilak would accept a colonial form of self-government: but the Bengal Extremists

wanted to have complete independence as their goal. Having already defined very fully their attitude to the British Government they were bound consistently to demand separation from the Empire. Their quarrel was with the Government not because it was despotic, but because it was foreign. Hence they wanted a completely national government—'Swaraj'.

The word 'Swaraj' is indeed a new word in the literature of modern Indian politics. Dadabhai Naoroji in 1916 was bold enough to use it in his Congress Presidential speech; but he would not press the use of the word to its full logical connotation. The Extremist did not want to mince matters. Tilak said that he wanted Indians to rule India just as Englishmen rule England or Frenchmen France. B. C. Pal, however, boldly took up the question of the exact nature of Swaraj. Self-Government under British paramountcy did not appeal to him as an intelligible conception. How would the British assert their paramountcy? How and where would you draw the line between Indian sovereignty and British paramountcy? It is said that foreign policy at least legitimately belongs to the sphere of imperial authority: but if you allow the foreign affairs to be controlled by the British, you will have to allow the army to be controlled and regulated by the British. This implies further that the British should continue to control the purse of the nation. Where then will the right of self-taxation and self-administration go? Paramountcy is either formal and nominal, or real. If it is merely formal, where is the point in continuing it? If it is real, how can it be reconciled with any measure of genuine self-government? The line between internal affairs and external affairs is an arbitrary one and completely breaks down in practice. It is absurd for our politicians to imagine that England will willingly shoulder the burden and sacrifice of Indian defence while allowing India an unfettered right to exercise her will in all internal matters.

The analogy which the Moderates are fond of employing between India and other colonies is not a satisfactory one. The ties in the case of Australia and Canada are the ties of blood. India's case is different. England is white; while we are black and brown. Bryce said, "The colour-sense of the Anglo-Saxon is one of his strongest senses. The Asiatics may overcome their sense of colour, but the European cannot; and least of all can it be expected of the Anglo-Saxon European." The colonies receive with open arms the surplus population of England as immigrants but the English people consider India to be climatically unfit for this purpose. There is a common bond between the English people at home and the English people abroad; they can always maintain a common front against the coloured peoples and if necessary against other European powers. An independent India would not also allow free immigration from England because she would not receive the same accession of national life and strength from it as the Australians or Canadians do.

\ The ideal of self-government under British paramountcy is, therefore, an impossible ideal. The Swaraj that India really needs means complete self-government. The nation alone should have the supreme control over its political affairs, home affairs, foreign affairs, civil affairs, and military affairs. It means the unrestricted right and power for self-taxation, self-legislation, self-administration. This ideal is the same as that which even sober Gokhale did not object to when he said at Allahabad that he would not put any limits to the aspirations of his countrymen and desired that his people should attain the highest that is in them in their intellectual, in their industrial, in their moral, in their spiritual life.

But the ideal of Swaraj is said by the Liberal to be an unattainable ideal. The Extremist however does not desire any more than the Moderate to project a magnificent

ideal just to satisfy his political imagination. No serious politicians would allow free reins to their fancy and indulge in sweet romantic dreams out of all relation to actual reality. The ideal does not mean the unreal, the phantastic, the impossible; it is that which is implied in the real and is based on the actualities of the real.

The common objection that the ideal does not come within the range of practical politics applies equally to the ideal of Swaraj of the Extremists as well as the ideal of colonial self-government of the Moderates. Neither of these ideals enters into the imagination of the English rulers. Morley says: "As long as my imagination reaches, so long the Government of India must continue to be a personal and absolute Government." Such is the verdict of the most distinguished, the most sympathetic, the most broad-minded, the most philosophical, of the practicality of the ideals of both the Extremists and the Moderates.

The English politician knows too well that the moment India gets control even over internal affairs, India will hasten to build heavy tariff walls against the cutlery of Leeds or the textile fabrics of Manchester and Lancashire. The British capitalists will no longer be liable to develop the natural resources of the country in their own interest. What will be the use of India to the British then? The English people will never accept this alteration unless they are driven to it by the pressure of events. The conception of partnership in a common Empire on equal terms may appeal to the Indian imagination at present because it promises him his practical political salvation: but it cannot appeal to the imagination of the English politician because it means for him the end and complete dissolution of the Empire. The ideal, therefore, of a common partnership is intrinsically more unintelligible and practically as attainable or unattainable as the idea of Swaraj .

of the Extremists. "Therefore it seems to me," said B. C. Pal, that "this ideal, the practically attainable ideal of self-government within the Empire, when we analyse it with care, when we study it in the light of common human psychology, when we study it in the light of our past experience of racial characteristics of the British people, when we study it in the light of past British history in India and in other parts of the world, we find that it is a far more impracticable thing to attain than even our ideal of Swaraj."

Here then we get for the first time in the history of Indian nationalism, a clear-cut demand for full self-government. The demand for Swaraj was only a comprehensive but summary statement of all the one thousand and one things which India wanted. { The nation is no longer a baby; it is becoming conscious of its position; it demands the management of its own affairs. The nation is no longer a Hindu or a Muslim nation; it is a wider entity calling itself Indian nation; and the Swaraj was, therefore, to be Indian Swaraj. }

It was too early to give a concrete shape to the exact form of government in which the Swaraj ideal will express itself. The nation was passing through a process of evolution, and hence it is not possible for any one to lay down beforehand the precise form it will take. Circumstances under which the Indian nation will achieve its salvation will determine the form of the first Indian government. It so happened in the history of France. France started with the cries of Liberty and Equality and Fraternity and ended with the Napoleonic despotism.

The ideal that is now in the air is certainly a democratic ideal. The whole case for Swaraj rests on the case for democracy. Swaraj, like democracy, is the government of the Indian people, by the Indian people, for the Indian people.

The democratic ideal is present to the mind of the Congress leaders from the beginning. But it was not pressed to its logical conclusion. The Extremists made it perfectly clear that we want a full-fledged democratic government. The ideal yet only meant to a great extent the freedom of India from alien domination. Even then the enunciation of an ideal is a great thing: and since 1905 no party in India is without a well-defined ideal. The pursuit of a definite objective makes the whole situation at once clear to all parties. It gives a definite direction to all the stirrings and activities of the nation. Political struggle becomes more conscious and more systematic. There are no longer vague, instinctive stirrings and desires, surging in the mind of the nation, no more timid and halting efforts at self-expression; the nation knows what it wants and wants to achieve it.

The clear conception of an ideal enables the politician to place something before the nation's mind, which may touch its imagination and rouse its whole being. The Extremist was able to create a stir in the public mind because he asked the nation, to strive for a political objective which captured its imagination. The Swaraj became a war-cry, a slogan to fight, work, live and die for. The emotional value of a cry like Swaraj is simply incalculable. But its intellectual value is equally great. It gives the people a standard which they can use in order to form a judgment on the various alternative programmes placed before them. It brings out the real nature of the disease from which the country is suffering and prescribes an appropriate remedy. The ideal of good government is one thing; the ideal of self-government is quite different. The country must make up its mind whether it merely wants better government, or whether it wants its own government, good or bad. The Moderates were striving to realise to a great extent

the ideal of good government; they demanded further representation of Indians and subsequently even a modified form of self-government because they realised more and more that without self-government they cannot have good government. It is true that latterly they became more emphatic about the intrinsic desirability of self-government for its own sake also and not merely with a view to bring about a better form of government. But in their own mind they were really more attached to the ideal of a rational, just, humane, enlightened administration, preferably democratic, than to the ideal of indigenous rule, irrespectively of its nature or functioning. The attitude of the Extremists was entirely different. They raised the fundamental issue whether Indian people are to control their own destinies or whether they will allow or suffer their destinies to be controlled by outsiders.

The attitude of the Extremist is like the attitude of the modern syndicalist. To him the more the Government tyrannises over the people, the better; the humane and just foreign administration is the last thing he would like to have. He wants a radical cure: and he therefore prescribes radical remedies. Palliatives only add to the existing evil, they create a false consciousness of temporary security, they lure the patient into deeper and deeper trouble; and they considerably postpone and sometimes make it difficult, if not impossible, the final cure.

That is exactly how B. C. Pal argues. "Unless you are sure as to what you want, you cannot adopt now the necessary means, the instrument for securing that which you want. You ought to know what your destination is with a view to determining what your work and duty, what your direction must now be. Unless you have always a clear conception of the practical end, you run the risk of being carried away by the passions, the tempt-

ations, the prejudices, the difficulties, the obstacles of the hour from your goal. By seeking to relieve the present distress you may be missing an opportunity of creating those forces in the community by the application of which ultimately you may be able to attain Swaraj or autonomy. He is a quack doctor, who, when the disease is a constitutional one, wastes time by local application. Your malady is not a local malady. It is not the removal of one cess or another cess, it is not the securing of a few appointments here and a few honorary posts there. The evil under which you suffer is fundamental, a radical, and a constitutional evil; and therefore, it is the more necessary for you to keep this constitutional, this fundamental, this radical character of the problem that faces you, so that you may not run off from the right course by passing temptations of the hour, this way or that way. When you ask this isolated individual redress of this individual and isolated grievance, you can increase the hold of the Government upon the mind of the people."

Thus there is a deep difference between the ideal of the Liberals and the ideal of the Extremists, even when these ideals seem to agree. The Swaraj of the Liberal is to be attained by the progressive development of the same principles of administration which work now. It is only a further stage of the same journey. The Indian will and the British will both have to remain in harmony with each other from the beginning to the end. But the Indian will have to count more and more; and the British will have to count less and less; but all this by a process of accommodation, of voluntary agreement of give and take. It was a partnership in the beginning; it is a partnership in the middle; and it will be a partnership in the end. But as the student grows in intelligence and scholarship, there is naturally an intellectual co-operation more and more on terms of equality with the professor, so

the Indian community will develop in intelligence and political aptitude and acquire a greater and greater voice in the councils of the Empire. The whole process is a process of growth without any violent departure. The agreement even deepens the more the Indians develop: because domination gives way to genuine partnership. This seems to be the meaning of the ideal of Swaraj within the Empire.

The Extremist ideal is entirely different. There was no conflict between the ideals of good government and self-government in the minds of the Liberals; and in any case there was more emphasis on 'good' than on 'self'. The two merged in each other; the one was to lead on to the other. The Moderates would never prefer the rule of a native Rajah or Nabob to the present administration. But the Extremist was clear about it; he would prefer any indigenous government to the most enlightened foreign rule. Beneath the identity of words, a very real difference is hidden. For practical purpose the two parties may unite as they did unite in 1916; there may be eventual modifications of the creed in the light of practical experience; but the attitude of the Nationalists who organised a new party in 1905 was entirely different from the attitude of the old Liberals, not only as regards methods but even as regards the ideals.

13. WHY SWARAJ?

The case for Swaraj essentially rests on the nature of the human mind. The desire for freedom is a part of the essential nature of man: it is the desire to express one's self, the desire to live one's own way, the desire to be one-self. In the *Bande Mataram*-an Extremist paper-we have a beautiful presentation of this ideal.

"It is not in human nature to rest eternally contented with a state of sub-ordination or serfdom. God

made man in his own image, essentially and potentially free and pure, shall man keep him in eternal bondage and sin? Freedom is constitutional in man, and when this freedom is curtailed by social and civil laws and institutions, it is done not to kill but to perfect this very freedom itself. This is the only rational end and justification of those necessary limitations that society imposes upon human freedom everywhere, and where this justification is absent, human nature revolts against these limitations, whether social, religious, or political, creating conflicts, struggles, revolutions, through which humanity realises its divinely appointed destiny everywhere. The desire for autonomy is constitutional in man and not a mere functional disturbance such as the tyrant and the aggressor has always proclaimed it to be. Is it sinful to cherish that which is a necessary element in the very constitution of man's mind and soul? Has not history preserved, as the most sacred relics of the race, the achievements of this natural and God-inspired impulse from its very birth? Has not art beautified it in a thousand lovely forms, in poetry, in painting, in music, and in sculpture? Has not religion, wherever and whenever it has not been able to free itself from the selfish control of priests and princes, sacrificed this noble instinct, as the very breath of God? Shall we alone deem it a sin and be branded, for cherishing this divine desire, as criminals?

“Tyrants have tried but have they ever succeeded in repressing this natural love of freedom in man? Repressed it has grown in strength; crushed under the heel of the tyrant, it has assumed a myriad forms and in successive incarnations gaining strength and inspiration from repeated failures and endless suffering, it has risen finally, to overthrow its oppressor for good: this is the teaching of History, this is the message of Humanity.

“But like the scriptural adder, tyrannies have eyes

but they see not, have ears but they hear not, and the universal teaching of history, and the eternal message of humanity, are both lost on them. And the car of progress has, through human folly and perversity, to wade through blood and ruin still on earth."

This is the rationale for 'Indian autonomy,' according to the new school.

The government of India by Great Britain is a huge and costly failure. It has no justification whatsoever. No nation has a right to make a slave of another nation. Britain boasts of taking a leading part in the abolition of slavery in the world; but this party would say that she has been responsible for the establishment of a slavery in a different form, on a large scale in the modern world. It is not the enslavement now of one man by another man; it is the enslavement of one nation by another nation. Three hundred millions of human beings are deprived of their elementary rights and liberties in the name of an imperial civilisation. The Indian nation when it lost its liberty, lost its self-respect: and the loss of liberty and the loss of self-respect mean the loss of everything. The pettinesses and jealousies which seem to be so rampant to-day in India are nothing inherent in the Indian people, but the direct result of their deprivation of political life and liberty. Autocracy in India in the past is said to be responsible for the servile nature of the Indians; but the autocracy of Britain has done more to kill the public spirit in Indian people than the autocracy of the Hindu and Mahommedan rulers of the past. These autocracies lacked compactness and organisation of the modern type; they, therefore, always left considerable scope for freedom and initiative among the people. Hence the Marathas and the Sikhs could easily organise sub-national risings against the autocracy even of Aurangzeb. But to-day any one who attempts to play the rôle of Shivaji will be locked up in jail or hanged

in no time. Secondly, the oriental autocracies of the past merely touched the surface of the people's life; local life in villages and in outlying districts was completely unaffected by the vicissitudes of political life in Delhi. The present despotism has a far-reaching influence on the life of the people. It regulates currency, prices, trade, and the whole economic life of the people. Its cultural influence, for good or evil, is even more far-reaching and subtle. "The disrupting influence of Western education and the contact with Western life and thought have loosened the old religious and social bonds on the one hand, while the British system of administration, taking away all power and prestige from the old and natural leaders of society, without vesting the general masses of the people with any civic rights and privileges which might more than compensate for the decay of the old order, has entirely killed even what feeble and primitive civic life there was in the country before; and these have combined to make us more selfish and sordid than we had ever been in the past."

Britain's gifts to India are all doubtful gifts; they destroy more than they construct. Britain boasts of giving peace to the country, but is this the peace of life or peace of death? Is it not like the Roman method which created solitude and called it peace? What is this peace worth if it has simultaneously taken away all capacity of the people even to protect themselves? Does not this peace facilitate the work of peaceful exploitation?

England claims to develop the natural resources of the country: but for whom? All the profits go to the English capitalist. The Indians come only as coolies—as mere labourers.

The plain fact of the situation which stares every one in the face, who honestly wants to understand it, is that Great Britain's interests are radically different from and

opposed to the interests of India. The whole Moderate politics is an impossible attempt to trace a harmony of interests which does not, and which cannot, exist. The interests of India are no more identical with the interests of Britain than the interests of the mouse are identical with the interests of the cat. India should not accept in a spirit of resignation and helplessness the supreme surrender that is implied in the acceptance of the Imperialist's point of view. It would be an act of political, economic, and cultural suicide. How can India be the same as Great Britain ? How can India accept the rôle of a subordinate department of His Majesty's Government ? If *a priori* reasoning does not convince the Moderate of the impossibility of identifying the interests of India with the interests of Great Britain, surely a hundred and fifty years of rule of the British in India is a sufficient demonstration of the utter futility of such hopes and aspirations. India is a valuable asset to the Empire because it offers such a nice field for the investment of British capital. But if Indian capital takes the place of British capital, what scope is there left for the English capitalist's ambitions ? India is a valuable asset to the Empire, because she supplies raw materials to and buys the finished products of, the British industrialist. But here again if native enterprise and capital build up Indian industries, what happens to the ambitions of the industrial England ? India is a valuable asset to the Empire, because she offers the best training-ground for the intellect of England and the character of England : but if Indians take the place of Englishmen in higher services, what hopes are there then for the British talent ? The loss of one country is the gain of the other. India's expansion can only take place at the expense of England's, because the field which everywhere is reserved for the nationals, is here occupied by the foreigner. That is why the foreign rule can never be anything but an unmixed curse to the people. That is why the new party demands Swaraj,

demands independence, demands separation from Britain.

If the nation, therefore, wants to attain to the full height of which it is capable and shape its evolution and its lines of development according to its own genius, and its own best interest, it has got to work up to the ideal of complete political freedom.

The Swaraj movement is not only a political or economic movement. It is political, social, economic: but it is really a wider cultural, essentially spiritual movement. It is the assertion of India's best and highest self in all the affairs of India's life. It takes its stand upon the fundamental truth enshrined in India's highest philosophic thought viz. that every man has within himself, as his own soul, as the very root and realisation of being, the spirit of God. Thus B. C. Pal preaches the message of Swaraj:

"Freedom is man's birth-right. It is inherent in the very making of man. Man is made not out of the image, not in the image, but out of the substance of the Maker, and as God is eternally free, so are you, prince or peasant, Brahman or Pariah, man or woman, Hindu or Mahommedan, Buddhist or Christian, rich or poor, ignorant or learned, free and eternal.

"You realise it not, because you are enveloped in ignorance. You realise it not, because freedom has not yet organised itself yet in your social life. You realise it not, because this spirit of freedom has not yet been able to organise itself in your economic life. You realise it not, because this idea of freedom has not yet actualised itself in your political life.

"In the citizenship of a free State you regulate yourself, you control yourself, you rule yourself, you restrain yourself and freedom is not want of restraint but self-restraint; freedom is not want of determination but self-determination, and it only consists, as free citizens of a free

State, in the administration of your own affairs, in your submitting yourself to the laws that you helped to make, and in submitting yourself to the regulations that you helped to impose upon yourselves and upon the community at large.

“ Hence I say that it is essentially a spiritual movement. We believe that the spirit of our race will fulfil and realise itself in and through this movement and shall realise the divinely appointed destiny of our nation.”

14. ARE WE FIT FOR SWARAJ ?

The Moderates maintained that we must deserve before we desire: and that self-government in the case of India is a very arduous task requiring a period of arduous preparation. The Swaraj is, therefore, to be necessarily obtained by stages: at each stage we have to convince our masters of our ability to run successfully the tasks allotted to us: and with their permission, we go on to a higher stage. The whole period of British rule is a period of political apprenticeship of the Indian nation.

Tilak maintained that the Indian nation has ceased to be a tender child: and now that it has grown up, it demands that the management of its affairs should be transferred to it. The trustees accept the principle that the moment the people acquire real maturity, they should govern their own affairs. But they begin to think that the head of the child has turned or that the child has not yet acquired the necessary fitness. Now will anyone say when the child will acquire that fitness and how the child will acquire that fitness? How can the Indian people demonstrate their fitness till they are actually entrusted with the task?

That Indians are not fit, that they will take a considerable period before they will be fit, if at all ever they will be, that as long as this period of immaturity continues in

the opinion of the British trustees so long they are entitled in continuing here; all these are clever lies instilled into the people's heads to justify the existence and perpetuation of the British Raj. One thing is certain, that if the Indian people accept these statements and swallow them, they will never be fit. They were fit in a way before the British came; Aurangzeb and Shivaji did not appeal to the Western powers to recognise their fitness. But the British Government sees that they will never be fit; and this is true as long as the Indians accept all their political wisdom from these clever imperialists.

The nationalist therefore started the eloquent declaration of Tilak that "Home-rule is my birth-right and I will have it." This emphatic utterance marked the birth of a new consciousness in the nation. Here is the expression of determination to refuse to accept serfdom and subordination, to continue in the present state of helpless dependency, if possible, for a single day.

The nationalist however did consider that preparation for the attainment of the Swaraj ideal is necessary. But that preparation has nothing to do with the acquisition of slow training in the art of self-government under the British masters. Let there be no confusion of thought: the British are in India not for the training of Indians, but for their own business: and the real training of Indians fundamentally conflicts with that business. The Moderates are deluding themselves and deluding the nation when they establish and preach the dogma of the gradual acquisition of fitness at the hands of their British administrators. "The new spirit," said Pal, "accepts no other teacher in the art of self-government except self-government itself. It values freedom for its own sake, and desires autonomy, immediate and unconditioned, regardless of any considerations of fitness and unfitness of the people for it: because it does not believe serfdom in any shape or form to be a

school for real freedom in any country and under any conditions whatever. It holds that the struggle for freedom itself is the highest tutor of freedom which, if it can once possess the mind of a people, shapes itself the life, the character, and the social and civic institutions of the people, to its own proper ends.

"The time has come when in the interests of truth and the civic advancement and freedom of the people, our British friends should be distinctly told that while we are thankful to them for all the kind things they have said all these years for us, and the ready sacrifices they have made to make our lot easy and their yoke light, we cannot any longer suffice to be guided by them in our efforts for political progress and emancipation. Their view-point is not ours. They desire to make the Government of India popular, without ceasing in any sense to be essentially British, we desire to make it autonomous, absolutely free of the absolute control. As in matters of individual faith every man had best beat his music out, so also in matters of civilised and free administration, every nation must reach the ideal by its own efforts and through its very failures and travails."

15. *NEW NATIONALISM.*

The fundamental difference between the old nationalism of the Congress and the new nationalism of Tilak and Lajpatrai and Pal, is that the old nationalism built upon the consciousness of the weakness of the people: while the new nationalism built upon the consciousness of the strength of the people. Hence the old nationalism, obsessed with the age-long weaknesses, superstitions, divisions of the people, tried organically to connect itself with and depend upon British imperialism; the new nationalism, fired by the achievements of the people in the past, the glorious ancient Hindu

history and the brilliant expressions of the Indian mind in the medieval period, preached a separation from Britain and a re-assertion of the national self, in its independent and pristine purity. The Moderates cried again and again out of the abundance of their practical wisdom and realising fully the one hundred and one weaknesses of the Indian people, that where shall we be apart from the British connection ?

The new nationalists reply that they have absolutely no faith in the altruistic mission and the liberal declarations of the British Government. That faith has been killed in them by Lord Minto, Lord Morley, Lord Curzon. This disappearance of faith in the British Government and the revelation of it in its true character have produced a sort of despair and complete disillusionment in some people. A voice whispers in the ears of the disillusioned Indian, patriot, "since improvement is impossible, why follow the chimera? Go and improve yourself. Make your pile and enter into friendly relations with the Government...I will have 15 annas and 9 pies and you keep the three pies in the rupee."

To counteract this tide of despair and political pessimism and personal selfishness, it was necessary to reconstruct our political faith on different foundations. This is the genesis of the nationalistic party. In the Moderates' creed the whole reasoning appears to be very well-constructed: but one important factor is missing. The whole drama of Hamlet is there but Hamlet is not there. The Indian national struggle goes on: but the Indian nation is not behind it. The Indian nation is considered essentially dumb, and having no part or lot in the business. The whole business is done in its name, but it is supposed to endorse everything blindly. The British Government knew it and openly said that 'these educated classes are not the representatives of the Indian masses. Let their claims be

endorsed by the nation and we shall listen to them.' The fundamental cause of the failure of the Moderates was their incapacity, their deliberate refusal perhaps, to mobilize the interest of the masses in their political fight. They leaned more upon the Government than upon the people for the fulfilment of their political demands, and when the Government did not respond to them sufficiently enthusiastically, they quietly retired within their tents.

The new nationalist instinctively saw the radical weakness in the whole Moderate politics and at once took the great plunge required by the situation, and turned to the people for inspiration, for guidance, and for the attainment of their political objectives. This dramatic conversion of an academic movement into a mass-movement constitutes a truly revolutionary departure in Indian politics. "Our eyes have been turned away from the Government: away from the Houses of Parliament: from Simla and Calcutta; and our faces have turned now to the starving, the naked, the patient, and long-suffering 300 millions of Indian people, and in it we see a new potency, because we view them now with an eye of love which we had never felt before, and in the teeming, toiling, starving and naked populations of India, we find possibilities, potentialities, germs that have given rise to the movement namely, Faith in the people, Faith in the genius of the nation, Faith in God, Who has been guiding the genius of this nation through ages by historical evolution, Faith in the eternal destiny of the Indian people. With the decadence of our faith in the foreign Government and in the foreign nation, has grown up this higher, this dearer, this deeper, this more vital and more divine faith in Indian Humanity."

The new nationalism is not a mere civic, economic, or political ideal. It is a religion. The civic, the economic, and the political ideals are different manifestations of the central conception of nationalism. This new nationalism

is not to be taken as a larger kind of selfishness, like the nationalisms of Europe. It is essentially a religious ideal which inspires the patriots of this country to sacrifice their all at the altar of their country, in the name of God.

Old nationalism was a matter of intellectual conviction. Old nationalism was the outcome of the brains of men of profound learning and great talents. They wanted the whole process to be perfectly clear to their intelligence before they would act. They naturally argued : Has the Indian people the requisite military organisation ? Has it necessary training and intelligence to get and work Swaraj ? Are all people united ? and so on. They concluded that this new nationalism is a perfectly thoughtless cult, a madness, which would bring ruin to the country.

New nationalism was therefore, less a matter of logical inference from universally accepted data, as an attitude of mind and will, determined to make itself felt, determined to make its votaries do or die. It is a matter of belief; and belief is not merely a persuasion of the mind; but something inspired by the heart and issuing in action.

The representatives of old nationalism were unanswerable from their point of view. " They are men who live in the pure intellect only and they look at things from the intellectual standpoint. What does the intellect think? ...Here is a work that you have undertaken, a work so gigantic, so stupendous, the means for which are so poor, the resistance to which will be so strong, so organised, so disciplined, so well equipped with all the weapons that science can supply, with all the strength that human power and authority can give; and what means have you with which to carry out the tremendous work of yours ? "

New nationalism does not however rely wholly upon material weapons. It relies upon God: it, therefore, feels

that as long as there is an intense faith in God and unconditional surrender to Him, everything is bound to be all right in the end. New nationalism stands for a new mentality in the country which is the fundamental requisite both for getting Swaraj and for running it. If it is not there, any amount of intellectual learning, any amount of physical fitness or military equipment will not avail. If it is there, all other things will be added to it. This is the reply of new nationalism to the reasonings of intellectual patriots.

Is lasting degradation to be the fate of India? That is the conclusion to which rational patriotism leads us. To think that a foreign government whose every interest is opposed to ours will lead India to her salvation is the mid-summer of political madness. Honest, consistent, logical patriotism which builds upon mere actualities, takes literal facts as final, unalterable facts, cherishes no faith, harbours no illusions, will drive one in India to utter despair, and even death. If the Liberals do not surrender themselves to either, it is because they have managed to conjure up a faith—not based on facts, but on their fond beliefs—a faith in the beneficent tendencies of the British Empire in relation to the Indian people. This was the greatest illusion under which any sane political party ever lived. Surely if ever Swaraj comes, it will surely emanate from the rising tide of popular will in India and certainly not from the generous outburst of the British heart.

↳ The old nationalism, fondly but foolishly believed that regeneration of India can come from outside: the new nationalism replies that in the very nature of things the revival of the nation can come from within. This is a radical difference. Hence the new nationalism brings an accession of enormous strength to the people. Faith can remove mountains: and new nationalism builds on such a faith. This faith is based not on any material creed or

earthly programme: it is something deeper, wider, and more powerful than the promise of industrial progress or economic development or political independence. The fundamental need of the situation is not a particular programme or a particular method; these are mere concrete lines on which the spirit of God is working in a nation. There is a Power higher than ourselves, higher than all the nations of the world, that is now guiding the Indian nation. This Power is invincible, almighty, immortal and irresistible: and it will do its work, it will sweep off all obstacles, it will rush us on to victory. The Indian patriots have to realise that the designs of this Power may be in part inscrutable to our finite intelligence and they have merely to obey that Power and go where it leads them.

Old nationalism was timid, hesitating, calculating, balancing loss and gain, obsessed by earthly considerations, prudence, and selfishness. It, therefore, failed to produce any effect. Its logic may be fine: but it has no real force of conviction behind it. It made no call for a higher life, because it felt itself none. New nationalism demands unlimited faith, unlimited self-sacrifice, unlimited courage. The in-dwelling spirit within, the immortal soul in all of us has to be released and floods of energy and new life will simply deluge the country. Self-interest, whether individual or communal, has never inspired the best deeds and the noblest thoughts of man. New nationalism kindles a new faith in man, and asks him to realise God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen. The patriot, when the call to self-immolation comes, rejoices and says: "The hour of my consecration has come, and I have to thank God now that the time for laying myself on His altar has arrived and that I have been chosen to suffer for the good of my countrymen. This is the hour of my greatest joy and the fulfilment of my life." New nationalism thus stands for that perfect love of the nation which

casteth out all selfishness and all fear. The root of Indian weakness is fear, and this fear is born out of selfishness and an utter lack of faith in God. The higher courage can only be the outcome of a higher faith. This higher faith tells you that you are a mere instrument of the immortal force within you, whom the sword cannot pierce, whom the fire cannot burn, and whom the water cannot drown. What can all the earthly tribunals and the powers of the world do to such an invincible spirit? Him the jail cannot confine nor the gallows can end.

New nationalism can make this supreme call for supreme sacrifice because it does not stand for one's own personal interests, or caste or class interests, or even the interests of the nation as a political and economic entity. Calculation and timidity are the result of these narrow egoisms. Suffering becomes a joy only when you overwhelmingly love the object for which you sacrifice yourselves. That object here is the Indian nation, the embodiment of the age-long Indian ideals. "When you have a higher idea, when you have realised that you have nothing, that you are nothing, and that the three hundred millions of people of this country are God in the nation, something which cannot be measured by so much land, or by so much money, or by so many lives, you will then realise that the idea for which you are working is something Immortal, and that it is an Immortal Power that is working within you. All other attachments are nothing. Every other consideration disappears from your mind. You are led on by that Power. You are protected through life and death by One, who survives the very hour of death; you feel your immortality in the hour of your worst sufferings; you feel you are invincible.

"You have undertaken a work, you have committed yourselves to something which seems to be materially impossible. You have undertaken a work, which will rouse

against you the mightiest enemies whom the earth can bring forward. Have you the other strength in you? Try to realise it so that every hour ye shall live shall be enlightened by that Presence, that every thought of yours shall be inspired from that one fountain of inspiration, that every faculty and quality in you may be placed at the service of that Immortal Power within you. Then you will not need any leader. The leader is within yourself. If you can only find Him and listen to His voice, then you will not find that people do not listen to you, because there is a voice within that people which will make itself heard; and the whole people of this country will rise, filled with the inspiration of the Almighty, and no power on earth shall resist it and no danger or difficulty shall stop it in its outward course. God has work for this great and ancient nation. Therefore He is revealing Himself to you not that you may be like other nations, not merely that you may rise by human strength to trample under foot the weaker peoples, but because something is to come out from you which is to save the whole world. That something is what the ancient Rishis knew and revealed and that is to be known and revealed again to-day, it has to be revealed to the whole world and in order that he may reveal Himself, you must first realise Him in yourselves, you must shape your lives, you must shape the life of this great nation so that it may be fit to reveal Him and then your task will be done, and you will realise that what you are doing to-day is no mere political uprising, no mere political change, but that you have been called upon to do God's work."

Such is the burning faith, and the inspired insight of this new cry. In politics, its ideal is entirely different from the ideal of old nationalism. Old nationalism really stood for two ideals; progressive Indianization and piecemeal reform. Its talk of Swaraj was an after-thought;

it is something to which they were driven by the Extremism in their midst, even against their better judgment. Now new nationalism is as much opposed to Indianization as the old nationalism is attached to it. Indianization is a part of the programme of political apprenticeship which the Moderates are after. But the ideal of Englishmen, training Indians in order that these Indians may drive them out and take their place, is a self-contradictory and impossible conception. Indianization, therefore, must have a really sinister meaning. It cannot be the stepping-stone to political emancipation; it may be really a stepping-stone to further national degradation. Let us examine facts. To-day we have some Indians in the Indian Civil Service. Has it altered the character, the nature, the tradition of the British Government? These civilians are mere creations of the British Government. They have to carry out orders, they have to follow the policy initiated by the head-quarters. "There are traditions, there are laws, there are principles, there are policies to which every civilian, be he black, brown, or white, must submit and so long as these traditions have not been altered, as long as that policy has not been radically changed, the supplanting of European by Indian agency will not make for self-government in this country."

The nationalist goes further and says, progressive Indianization will not make for good government either. The Englishman in high office often behaves better than the Indian in high office; the Englishman is trained in the free atmosphere of England and does not cringe to the extent that the Indian would do. The Indian has to behave differently not because he is naturally of a slavish mind, but because there is no one behind him to support him. If he assumes pro-Indian attitude or a democratic attitude, he will be at once misunderstood: and will be immediately asked to behave himself or go. These Indians, therefore,

are completely lost to the nation. They simply merge in the Sahibs and they behave very often worse than white Sahibs. It cannot be otherwise. It is the system which rules and these men suddenly get high salaries, get intoxicated, lose their bearings and try to give a very good account of themselves to their real masters: but care a fig for the people. "It is to the foreign ruler that the civilian is responsible, not to you. It is to him that the District Magistrate is responsible and not to you. It is to him that the Inspector is responsible and not to you, and therefore, the Inspector, the Civilian, and the District officer, and every other officer of the Government, in fact, looks to his own interest naturally, and looking to his own interest, he sees that if he can please the officials his interests will be best served, and if he displeases you, he will not in the least suffer in his own interests. Therefore, there is such weakness, inefficiency, such disregard of the rights, liberties and privileges of the people in the service of the Government, in this country. Therefore, if you have a larger number of officials, native officials, that will make things easy for a few families . but for the nation at large it would not improve their lot."

It follows that policy of piecemeal reform covers the same danger for Indians. The directing power merely utilises a larger number of indigenous persons in the pursuit of its own ends. The half is here the enemy of the whole. The good here is the enemy of the best. This is the fundamental defect of all reforms which proceed from outside. The imperial brand is marked on all them. The new nationalism, therefore, tries to avoid this delusion and snare, and demands boldly and emphatically that it wants nothing short of Swaraj. It does not want more representation in the legislature, but the power to create one's legislature. "It is the very soul of blind folly

says Pal, "to seek to satisfy the demands of this New Spirit, by such moiety of reforms, as the extension of the time-limit for the Budget-debate, or the granting of the right to move amendments to the budget. These will not meet the present situation. It is not reforms, but Reform which is the new cry in the country. It is the abdication of the right of England to determine the policy of the Indian Government, the relinquishment of the right of foreign despots to enact whatever law they please, to govern the people of the country, the abandonment of their right to tax the people according to their own sweet will and pleasure, and to spend the revenues of the country in any way they like—it is these that will alone meet the requirements of the New Spirit. Timid people and old women of all ages and both sexes, dare not look this spirit in the face. They dare not think even in their own minds of the immense possibilities that are before it."

16. PHILOSOPHIC BASIS.

The new nationalism distinguishes itself effectively from the old nationalism in this: that it takes the Indian people as an organic whole with a great past behind it and a great future before it. The Indian nation has its own peculiar genius revealed to us in its entire history.

The first thing to grasp about the Indian nationality of to-day is that it is not a new entity having no historic past behind it. Neither Hindus nor the Mahommedans can be called barbarians in any sense of the term. It is in fact their past which comes in the way of their easily assimilating the Western culture. The Moderates want to ignore the past and if possible wipe out the past altogether. But it is neither possible nor desirable for the Indian nation to start its historic career only from the British period of Indian History. The whole of the

past may not be a very brilliant period of Indian history : but it is there : and to ignore it altogether is to fall into a very grave error.

The present movement of the Indian mind should be organically related to the past of the people, and in trying to frame our ideals or our methods of realising our ideals, we must take into full consideration the peculiar nature of the Indian mind as it has shown itself in history. Just as every child is in a way different from every other child, so every nation is in a way different from every other nation. And just as a clever and successful educationalist addresses himself to the mind of each pupil by trying to understand its peculiar composition, so a clever statesman or national leader must give full attention to all the peculiarities of national temperament and national character, if he is to successfully manage his material.

The Moderates assumed that men everywhere are the same essentially : and the Eastern people have only to be placed in a new environment in order that they may behave exactly as the Western people do. They, therefore, borrowed all their ideals as well as their methods almost literally from their Western Masters and carried on a ceaseless verbal agitation for the grant of those institutions which have become successful in the West, on the assumption that man is essentially a creature of environment and the Eastern man is just like the Western man in all relevant particulars.

This again partly explains their failure. The new school makes an attempt to rebuild the future on the past rather than entirely on the models supplied by the West.

In the shaping of the individuals as well as groups, we have two factors: heredity and environment. The Moderates considered environment but ignored heredity. Heredity helps the perpetuation of the type, environment leads

to variations of the species. Thus B. C. Pal propounds his theory of a distinct individuality of each nation. "There are essential and pre-historic peculiarities inexplicable but undeniable, which constitute the race-consciousness of the different nations. These peculiarities are partly physical, partly mental, partly social. The physical peculiarities reflect themselves in the construction of their heads, in the angle of the nose, in the colour or pigment of the skin. Mental peculiarities reflect themselves in literatures, arts, philosophies, and religions. Social peculiarities reflect themselves in their social institutions, state, family, and others.

"The Hindus constitute a distinct people. The regulative idea in the evolution of Hindu character, the idea which has given a peculiar shape and colouring to the entire history of the race, is their innate consciousness of the spiritual and the eternal. The Western people have tried to conquer nature and use it by the mastery of its laws: but the Easterns, and especially the Hindus, have either tried to escape from its bondage by the power of their mind, or to control it by purely subjective and psychical methods. The outer world is often considered supremely real: and its influence on the mind of man is rendered harmless by the development of the inner force of mind.

"This conception of the absolute supremacy of the spirit, over both animal instincts and natural forces, is the highest note in the Hindu culture and the Hindu civilisation; and we owe to it all that is the best and truest and noblest in them ... To these are due that proverbial patience, that passive resistance to all evil, that fortitude and calm dignity, the moral bravery that can face pain without flinching and meet death without a tremor and that absence of helplessness and despair even in the most helpless circumstances... To it also we owe the peculiarly Hindu ethical ideal of Ahimsa which means the absolute uprooting of all desire

to inflict pain or injury on any creature, as well as the recognition of the self in all beings. These are the spiritual and ethical legacies of our race."

It is true that good and evil go together in social arrangements: and the Hindus, in their efforts always to transcend the present and live in the Eternal, have lost their grasp over the world of actuality which confronts them. Religion of the other world has often blinded them to their duties here and now, to the religion of this world. The doctrine of Karma soon developed into the doctrine of fate taking away all useful initiative from the people. Ahimsa degenerated into mere passivity and inertia: and the ancient religion became a mass of dead dogma.

The new civilisation, that we intend to build in this country, cannot be a mere revival of the ancient Hindu civilisation as it cannot be a mere by-product of British civilisation. The new nationalists try to steer clear of both these false positions. The past has to be incorporated with the present: in other that the Hindu of to-day, may, side by side with the Muslim and the Parsee and the Jain and the Christian, march to his new destiny. The new civilisation has, therefore, to be a composite civilisation and secondly, a modern civilisation, with an eye as much to the future as to the past. The nationalism of the Hindu or the Muslim or the Christian or the Parsee must not be wiped out in a new cosmopolitanism. It will be an act of cultural suicide in the case of each of these communities. The genius of each people is different: each has valuable contributions to make. The Liberal ideal of a cosmopolitan culture is based on false assumptions and will never work. The new nationalist ideal is to evolve a common and yet distinctive civilisation by a federation of all the different cultures which go to make the Indian nation of to-day. The attempt to impose one of these cultures on others is bound to end in failure, as the past history of India clearly shows. But

the attempt to reduce them all to one colourless western type has been far from successful.

The nationalist ideal is, therefore, the old Hindu philosophic ideal of the One in Many, of the Unity in Plurality, restored and applied to the modern Indian problem. The Hindu demands that the One must triumph over the many; this is the supreme note of his philosophy: but not at the expense of the many, but in and through the many. The Indian nationality must be one single nationality,...not a collection of heterogeneous and unrelated peoples: but a single spiritual whole working through different peoples in different ways: the diversity of its manifestations only serving to deepen and enrich its unity. "Each culture should contribute to the progress of the others, not by the super-imposition upon them of its own special forms, organs, vehicles, or symbols, but by indirectly helping the growth from within, of these elements in them which it possesses itself in a more developed state than the rest, never seeking to obliterate their essential and distinctive features, or to destroy their autonomy, or to divert them from the course of evolution worked out by their past environments and experiences, operating upon their original race-consciousness."

The Swaraj is an appropriate cry for the new ideal which demands the freest and completest self-expression of the highest self not now of an individual only, but of the nation. The Swaraj is freedom not in the old negative sense of escape from reality, but in the new positive sense of the expression of the soul of the nation through all its activities, in a complete, unfettered way. Here an old honoured concept—so central in the Indian scheme of life—is brought back, and re-instated at the heart of the social theory and interpreted in a positive way.

The two ideals of nationality and Swaraj thus mingle

in one. The Hindu nationality—now the Indian nationality—is essentially a movement towards unity of all the distinctive cultures, without wiping out their special, differentiating characteristics. The realisation of this unity in diversity of the Indian ideal of unity in the diversity of Hindu, Muslim, Parsee, Sikh, Jain, and Christian ideals, is thus the indispensable condition for the attainment of Swaraj, a full and free expression of the sense of new nationality in all the departments of life. The ancient ideal of salvation demanded the identification of the individual with the universal; the new ideal of salvation also demands the identification of parts with the whole. The new nationality is the new born self or Swa: and Swaraj is the expression of that Swa or national self. The highest spiritual ideal thus becomes transformed into the highest social and political ideal.

The old patriotism was dazzled by the European ideals and passionately pleaded for their transplantation in this country. Its spiritual home was Europe, not India. Its great inspirers and prophets were men like Burke and Macaulay. Its highest poetry was the poetry of Shakespeare and Milton. The spell of Europe was upon it in those days.

But the new patriotism looks once more to the great past of the nation and derives its life and inspiration from it. It has a historic basis: the other had none. It lives upon a great tradition; the other merely copied the traditions of others. It has roots: it has continuity: it has solid background; the other was unreal, imaginary and abstract. The new cry is *Bande mataram* (Hail! mother!). The old cry was: Hail Britannia! Long live the Emperor! The new patriotism is concrete and racy of the soil. "Love of India now means a love for its rivers and mountains, for its paddy fields and its arid sandy plains, its towns and villages, however uncouth or insanitary these might be, a love for the flora and fauna of India, an affectionate regard for its natural beauties and even for its wild and ugly exuberance

of vegetation, a love for its swarthy populations, unshod and unclad, a love for the dirt-clothed village urchins, unshod and unclad; a love for its languages, its literatures, its philosophies, its religions, a love for the culture and civilisation—this is the characteristic of this new patriotism.”

17. *NATION-BUILDING. A. CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION.*

The ideal dictates to some extent the precise methods to be followed in achieving the ideal. The Liberals strove hard to bring about a better government of the Western type under the British leadership and with the British co-operation. Their main weapon in this fight is known as constitutional agitation. The process that the Moderates actually developed under this dignified name is called in plain language the process of begging. The policy of so-called constitutional agitation is nothing but a policy of mendicancy. The Moderates pray and petition, beg and cry: they sometimes fret and fume: but they cannot go beyond that. This type of agitation has been indeed an instrument of political training and has helped the diffusion of national sentiment among us. But it has not achieved any concrete results: and the few reactions of the Government to it have been a measure here and a measure there meant to lighten the work of the administration and to strengthen the foundations of the British supremacy in India.

The Moderates believed too much in the British heart, the British good sense, the British conscience, the British liberal traditions, the British pledges. There are strong tactical advantages in this policy. You can go on clamouring without giving any handle to the Government to stop you or punish you. Your safety, your career are not jeopardised. You can indulge in the luxury of patriotism without

any material sacrifices. You can even advance your interests under the cloak of patriotism. Your ceaseless clamour, your rhetorical demonstrations and appeals may either induce the Government to bribe you into silence or may spread your reputation among the people and strengthen your professional interests. This was the essential nature of a large part of the Congress Liberal politics: it was a clever fight by a few distinguished lawyers and some others to out-manceuvre both the Government and the people into giving them a few solid material advantages. The Indian people were deceived for some time and it suited the Government to play this tactics for some time: and the Congress patriotism flourished.

The nationalist has unmasked this old type of patriot and put back the Rao Bahadurs into their proper places. The nationalist has exposed the shallowness, the trickery of this traffic, in the name of the country, carried on shamelessly by distinguished nonentities. Tilak set the example of the new type of patriotism; he showed that the path to country's service is not the primrose path of dalliance. ✓

The Moderates always congratulate themselves and the country and create hopes when a Liberal Member becomes the Viceroy or the Secretary of State, or the Liberal Party comes into power. Lord Morley's appointment created a flutter in the country. Meetings were held and resolutions were passed congratulating the country. Passages were read from Morley's books. Tilak said that you may as well read passages from the Gita. The Liberal views announced in books are for the British people. They are the academic expression of a philosopher's creed. But a philosopher in office is an anachronism: he either ceases to be a philosopher or ceases to be an officer. Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, is different from Lord Morley "the reverent disciple of Burke, the friend and biographer of Gladstone." The Secretary of State is a part of a system; he is the mouthpiece

largely of Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. He is guided entirely by the actual circumstances and not by the philosophic theories which he might have eloquently preached. Every officer is a part of a system and he has either to accept the system or to go. Any reliance, therefore, on any personality in politics in a system of the type we have, is entirely misplaced.

Nor is it advisable for any Indian who wants to face facts to place any trust in any British party. All parties have adopted a common front towards India and agreed that India should be outside party politics. If the Imperialists close their ranks when India is concerned, is it not up to the Nationalists to close their ranks, when Great Britain is concerned? Granting that here and there a Member of Parliament or a prominent politician tries to bring the Indian point of view before the Parliament or the British public, rest assured that in many cases it is a party advantage that he is trying to score. Disinterested attitude in politics is very rare: and where it is evident, it is not likely to be effective at all. All credit to the "Little Englanders" and some great Liberals who now and then put up a heroic, disinterested defence of India: but they are, and always bound to be, a very, very negligible minority.

The British Government is a sort of democracy. If the country's only salvation is to come from Great Britain, there will have to be a magical transformation of public opinion in Great Britain towards India. Is such a miracle possible? How much time are we to waste, how much money are we to spend in this absolutely foolish enterprise in bringing conviction to those whose minds are already closed against us by their self-interest? Dadabhai spent twenty-five years of his life in trying to convince the English people of the injustice that is done to India to-day. At the age of 82 he comes back and tells us that he is utterly disappointed. Then Gokhale may wait for eighty years more and then

tell us that he is disappointed. How long is this farce of agitation to go on? Thus Tilak argued. "So it comes to this that the whole British electorate must be converted. So you are going to convert all persons who have a right to vote in England, so as to get the majority on your side, and when this is done and when by that majority the Liberal party is returned to Parliament, bent upon doing good to India and it appoints a Secretary of State as good as Morley, then you hope to get something by the old methods. The whole electorate of Great Britain must be converted by lectures. You cannot touch the pocket or interest, and that man must be a fool indeed who would sacrifice his own interest on hearing a philosophic lecture. One of my friends delivered a lecture in England on the grievances of India. A man from the audience came and asked him how many of them there were. The lecturer replied, "Thirty crores." The inquirer replied, "Then you do not deserve anything." That is the attitude with which an Englishman looks at the question. You now depend on the Labour Party. Labourers have their own grievances, but they won't treat you any better. On the contrary, they will treat you worse, because British labourers obtain their livelihood by sending us their goods. This is the real position."

Constitutional agitation, therefore, in the form of propaganda or appeals to the official or non-official British men was foredoomed to failure. But it was not only futile; it was positively mischievous. It cultivated a lack of manliness and self-respect among the people who were taught to look for their salvation to the people of another country. It further tended to degenerate in actual practice into an agitation for honours, titles, positions, and spoils of office. This was the use made of the cry of Indianization both by the Indian Liberals and the British Government. These positions in the Govern-

ment hands were so many traps for the Indian patriot and so many lures for the self-seeking politicians. These men then passed from the Congress ranks and became distinguished tools in the hands of the bureaucracy. Moderate politics was not only ineffective : it was grossly selfish. It brought about a degradation of public life. " They (i. e. the Moderates) do not feel the utter degradation and misery of their present position in the constitution of their State. Their sense of the disabilities and the disadvantages of British despotism is personal and self-regarding. They complain because they are not appointed to high offices in the administration, and the appointment of a Bengali as a Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, or of a Madrasite as Advocate-General in Madras, sends up a chorus of congratulations from the whole body of the Indian Press, who have not yet arisen to a perception of the elementary truth that such isolated instances of official advancement do not, and can never compensate for the serious intellectual and moral wrong which the Government of one people by another and an alien people always inflicts. The leader who to-day leads a most violent attack on the Government is, therefore, found, the moment that Government receives him with offers of honour and preferment, to support and defend it most enthusiastically. All this is due to the absence of *Mumukshatva*—this deep and burning sense of bondage—and the unquenchable longing for salvation, which is the distinguishing feature of the new Party."

Constitutional agitation has not much scope in an autocratic government. The Government of India is an absolute government. Lord Morley cannot even imagine the Government of India to be any other than "a personal and absolute government." Now an absolute government is one which is not guided or influenced by the wishes and opinions of the people. Lord Minto says that it would be a mischievous thing for the British Government in

India, if the idea got abroad that the Government of India had no convictions of their own and that they initiated reforms, under the pressure of public opinion here. What does it mean in plain language? That the Government of India should never allow itself to be influenced by the public opinion in India, that it would seriously weaken its prestige and alter its character if it looked that it yielded to the clamour of popular agitation. How then can we talk of a constitutional agitation in India and its efficacy in bringing about changes in the policy of the Government?

The Moderates forget that there is no democracy in India and that there is no constitutional government either. In one sense every Government is constitutional because it has a certain fixed nature regulating the relation of the parts to parts and of the parts to whole. But in political science constitutional governments are contrasted with personal and absolute governments. There are constitutional ways through which the people can effectively enforce their will upon the Government in a constitutional government. Here in India the people have no part or lot in the shaping of the constitution. The constitution is a mere arbitrary creation of the British Parliament and imposed upon the people. It is not created by the people: it cannot be modified by the people. The people have merely to obey; they have no voice at all in it. How can this Government of India be called a constitutional government?

Constitutional agitation is a great and powerful weapon in the hands of the people in democratically organised countries. There the people themselves create their Parliaments and their Executives; they are the political sovereign. Hence the Parliamentary governments are always very sensitive to strong gusts of public opinion and the people have no justification to have recourse to force, because they have constitutional channels of self-

expression. Agitation in England can demand changes: and can constitutionally *enforce* these demands if necessary. But in India the Moderates use the language, try to adopt the methods of Great Britain, without perceiving the essential difference between the two cases. Here in India constitutional agitation only means agitation which is regulated by law and which is within the limit of the law. But who makes that law? That is the essential question. Under the circumstances, constitutional agitation only means an agitation which is consistent with the safety of the agitator, which will not conjure up the dreaded section of 124 A of the Indian Penal Code.

Policy may dictate to the nationalist a temporary compliance with the laws of existing government. The theoretical position however is different. The Moderates accept the present Government as the Government constituted by law: and consider it vital that the laws—whatever they are—enacted by the Government are valid: and have to be obeyed in the higher interests of not only the Government, but also of the existing social order. This virtually means that they accept the right divine of the British Government to go wrong. The nationalist accepts these laws as long as these laws respect the primary rights of citizenship. Here the nationalist comes out with his theory of the natural rights of men. "There are certain rights which Governments do not create: but rights which create Government themselves. They are natural rights, they are primary rights, rights that inhere in every individual human being, rights the charter of which is received from no man but from Him, Who stands on high, Who endowed every man with his life, with his limbs, Who endowed every man with his human instincts, Who endowed every man with his intellect and every spiritual and ethical endowment. The charter of these rights comes not from any crowned head, but it comes from the

King of Kings, from the throne of God Himself. And so long as the British Government in India will respect those natural, those primary, those uncreated rights of persons and property of individual Indian citizens, so long we shall respect these laws, and our agitation shall be conducted along such lines. In this sense we may claim to be as constitutional as are those who refuse to accept the constitutional character of our programme and propaganda."

18. *NATION-BUILDING : B. A PROBLEM IN PSYCHOLOGY.*

The real Indian problem is neither a problem in politics, nor in economics, nor in administration: it is a problem in psychology.

The foreign government in India appears a miracle, an inexplicable phenomenon to the English people. What are the real roots from which it has sprung? What are the real roots from which it derives perpetual life? India is a vast country with a population of about three hundred millions. These three hundred millions are governed by less than three lakhs of foreigners. To conquer such a vast population and to maintain constant control over such a vast population, mere force won't suffice. It is the Indian who virtually conquered India; it is the Indian who actually rules India.

Why have the Indians consented to play this rôle? It is illusion: *maya*. The Indian people have been led to believe they are weak; that they are divided; that they cannot maintain peace and order, that they cannot withstand the foreign invader; that they will pounce upon each other if the British withdraw. It is the Indian police who keep the peace; but they do not know their own power. It is the Indian Sheristedars who conduct the

revenue administration; but they do not know their own power. This myth of incapacity, of helplessness has been dinned into their ears so often that the politicians as well as the people have come to believe it as absolute truth.

The New Movement changes all this. It sets itself to remove this illusion. It proclaims the message of strength to the people. It places the ideal of Swaraj before the people in order to remove this killing despair among the people. It sets up a new gospel of self-reliance and self-sacrifice. It asks the nation to turn its face away from the Government to itself, for salvation always comes both to individuals and nations not from without, but from within.

The Moderates merely repeat what they have been taught by the English rulers of India that the road to Swaraj is weary, that there are almost inseparable difficulties in the way and that these difficulties will increase hundred-fold by playing a game of recklessness. They sometimes forget that these difficulties are the creation of the present state of affairs. Our growing physical weakness, our lack of administrative experience, our military helplessness, our internal divisions—are not these the outcome of a foreign rule? The Extremist does not want to minimise these difficulties: but takes the only way to modify or remove them.

Our troubles are with our own mind, with our own wills; and our sense of despair has gone to such an extent that the biggest party in politics in the country from 1885 to 1905 seriously believed that without the indispensable co-operation of the British Government we could not proceed one inch forward. Under the influence of this belief we are asked to lick the hand that bites us.

The period of British rule in India is not a period of education of the Indian people in the ideals of freedom

and the methods of acquiring them, especially upto 1905. The rude shock of the Partition disillusioned many of us and opened the eyes of those who were asleep so far. Time has gone when the nation can be pleased with a rattle or tickled with a straw or frightened by a bugbear.

The task of the new movement is to create a new mood among the people. In this new atmosphere, people must cultivate an absolute mental aloofness from the present foreign government. The service of the Government should be now looked upon as a degraded sort of thing. "The position of the Government servant should be made as degrading as that of the Brahmin who receives alms from the Shudras in the old Brahmanical social economy. Every Government servant must be regarded as a Bratya, one who has lost the purity of his social life. It is the nation's good will which must go far to secure respectability and not the good will of the Government. All the old valuations must change : and a spirit of virile nationalism must make the task of subservience to Government in any shape or form, a very difficult thing. Public opinion is always a very powerful force especially in a society like the one in India : and the moment it is mobilized the old Government prestige and fear are bound to disappear."

The new movement proposed to create a powerful national organization on the basis of this new-born sentiment. The people must be taught to govern themselves, to organise their own affairs, as independently of the officials as possible. The task of building up a nation is a herculean task; and those who are engaged in it have no leisure for "those flirtations with the Government which have so long usurped the name of national politics."

Thus the new movement sometimes called the Passive Resistance Movement had a two-fold task. The

first task was a psychological one; here the leaders proceeded to remove those illusions which were really at the root of our foreign conquest about the omnipotence and altruism of our rulers. "Untrained in the crooked ways of civilised diplomacy, they had believed what their rulers had said, either of themselves, or of their subjects, as gospel truth. They had been told that the people of India were unfitted to manage their own affairs, and they believed it to be true. They had been told that the people were weak and the Government was strong. They had been told that India stood on a lower plane of humanity and England's mission was to civilise 'the semi-barbarous native.' The Nationalist school took it upon themselves to expose the hollowness of all these pretensions. They commenced to make what are called counter-passes in hypnotism, and at once awoke the people to a sense of their own strength, and an appreciation of their own culture."

Secondly, the leaders placed before the people the new ideal of the Mother—their own country, once so great and now fallen on evil days and evil tongues—demanding every particle of their energy and devotion. The real patriotism could grow only after the myth of the beneficence and irresistible character of the Western rule was cleared away. The poison of these denationalising beliefs once removed, the patient's normal powers of recovery will assert themselves. The nationalists however proceeded to organise civic and economic institutions of their own through which the newly generated spirit of self-reliance and self-sacrifice may express itself. What are these institutions? "Our own village organisations, side by side with,—but working neither in opposition to nor in association with—the officially controlled village unions, our own Local and District organisations, similarly working in sub-divisions and districts, our own organs of provincial life and activities, and finally our own National Congress or Assembly, stand-



ing at the heart of these all, regulating and directing their activities, consistently with the large and eternal interests of the nation."

19. *REFORM ON NATIONAL LINES.*

The new nationalism emphatically stood for the assertion of the Indian ideals in everything. The old nationalism stood for mechanical, blind imitation of the Western forms. Now imitation never leads to true greatness; and imitation always tends to be a mere external thing. It is easy perhaps to transplant the forms of Western life: but it is the spirit which matters; and the East is East and the West is West; and one should not be twisted and tortured into the other's likeness. This is the new attitude.

It is the peculiar thought-structure and the peculiar social structure which reveal a people's individuality. It is this individuality, this peculiar genius of the people, its characteristic national mind, which makes the literature, the religion, the social institutions of one people so different from those of other peoples. To stifle this spirit is to kill the very life of the people. To ignore it in our schemes of reconstruction is to foredoom them to failure. The whole Liberal school ignored this most vital fact in the whole social situation-viz. the soul of the nation and all that it stands for. This is why the whole school has not been able to touch the inner springs of the nation's life, and consequently has simply failed to move it. The new movement derives its strength from this fact that it addresses its whole programme to the actual, living soul of India, and not to its mere surface-intelligence. "The true meaning of 'reform on national lines' means the recognition of, and due obedience to, the supreme genius of the nation in devising means for its advancement. It does not mean the

preservation of the *status quo*. It does not mean the restitution of lost rights, the resuscitation of effete organs, or the re-institution of obsolete usages. It means simply the adjustment of the inner life of the people to their outer environments."

A nation is an organism and it grows like all organisms, according to the laws of its own. The clue to its peculiar genius is to be found in its past history and in its literary and artistic and religious monuments. The highest function of patriotism is to understand this secret of the nation by going deep down into the whole current of its life, to catch the peculiar rhythm of the nation's movements, and then to try to read the promise of its unrealised life and try to mould it in the light of all these facts. This is what the new movement tries to do. "To understand this new Movement properly, you must look into it through the prism of the highest ideals of your nation, and the highest teaching of your Scriptures, and the highest possibilities of your social, economic, industrial and your political life."

Indian History has not come to its own. It will have to be rewritten. It is not merely a long tale of Hindu slavery and Hindu idiocy. Its first great event is certainly not the Battle of Plassey of 1757 or the reconquest of India by Britain in 1857. It is not an episode in the romantic story of the British Empire. It undeniably shows a great people in its decay; but it also shows, when properly read, a great people's great achievement in the ages when a large part of European and American humanity had not yet emerged into the light of day. It further shows that a nation which has survived so many shocks and catastrophes, certainly bears a charmed life and is destined to play a great rôle in the future.

Indian History, therefore, "is to the patriot what the scriptures of his religion are to the devotee. Indian

history is the record of the dealings of God with the Indian people. It is no profane or secular book, but is instinct in every page of it with the plan and purpose of India's God, in regard to the Indian people. Patriotism that does not feed upon history is like religion that rejects the help of the Scriptures,—rootless, fanciful, unreal, just able to satisfy the sentimentality of the spiritual or patriotic voluptuary, but absolutely incapable of imparting any saving power or grace to their activities and exercises."

B. C. Pal however does not preach a return to the golden past. Mere revivalism does not appeal to the taste of the new nationalist. His eye is fixed not only on the past, but also on the future. With the revivalist, he agrees that the future must be based on the past, that we should not lose sight of, in our mad haste for progress, the permanent elements of our ancient and medieval culture. But he does not stand for mere reaction, mere continuance of things as they are, or return to some imaginary past. What he repudiates is the position of the radical reformer or the abstract cosmopolitan, "who believes that man is man, and there exists nothing on earth of any vital value except the individual here and below and God above, and who regards all racial differences and national peculiarities as superstition and shortcomings, which in the higher stages of ethical and spiritual life, are absolutely overcome and obliterated, for to such a one, one country is as good as another, and patriotism is only an amiable weakness of man, due originally to geographical accidents."

The Indians are a nation; they have not to become a nation. India is one country for ages. The Hindu literature, the foreign records, Indian history all testify to it in an absolutely unmistakeable fashion. The Indian nation has not only an external physical or geographical unity; it has always stood for the same great cultural ideals, forming on a common basis the cultural life of all the Indian people.

The Hindu especially stands for one identical culture. Wherever the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are read, wherever the sacred verses of the Gita continue to inspire and instruct, wherever the deeds of Arjuna and Krishna, of Pratap and Shivaji are recited by the native bards, there then, is unmistakeably the soul of Hinduism present. What a miserable lie it is to say that Indian unity is the product of the British rule! The Moderates have fallen a cruel victim to the pathetic fallacies and deliberate perversions of facts of the English historians. The Indian nation is, and never to be, born.

What is required is not to start our A. B. C. of education in everything under the British masters, who have never understood and who can never understand anything about the soul of India; what is required is a conscious, rational re-adjustment of the nation's life to the nation's new situation and its demands. But in all schemes of reconstruction, the national mind, the national heritage, the national past should be given the first consideration. The Hindu must not cease to be Hindu, the Indian must not cease to be Indian in order that the Hindu or the Indian becomes a modern. It is because he is a Hindu or Indian that he must advance and advance as a Hindu or an Indian, his whole effort at advance being conditioned as much by the past which lives in him, as by the future which lures him on. The supremacy of the spirit, of the soul is the essential ideal of his race; it is the proudest part of his heritage, and in all reforms he must be guided by the supreme fact of his race-consciousness. The Hindu must not lose his soul; he cannot part with his fundamental position for a mess of pottage.

What we have now to learn, what we in the past often tended to forget much to our cost, is the fact that this supreme spiritual consciousness upon which our people take their stand is organically related to the world and must try

to find its highest expression not apart from our material, intellectual, or social life, but in and through our material, intellectual or social life. This is the message of Indian history and Indian culture to the Indian of to-day. The salvation of India does not lie in resting upon a past till that past has become almost dead nor in cultivating the soul-consciousness in the solitudes of the Himalayas: but in bringing that past with its virile traditions to bear upon the stagnant life of to-day and to revivify it and bringing that soul-consciousness from the retreat of solitude to the actual life of to-day and raise its whole level to undreamt of heights.

This is the one refrain of the modern Indian national revival, running like a golden thread through Swami Vivekananda and Arabinda Ghose and Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. This is the supreme lesson of Indian history; and in our assimilating it, lies our hope of future salvation. India cannot if she will, and will not if she can, merge in the so-called modern culture and lose her identity altogether. This nationalist school combats the Liberal fallacy, which if not properly detected and courageously discarded, would lead to India's ruin—her disappearance as a nation from the face of the earth.

The divorce of the spiritual life from every-day life has brought about the present catastrophe in India, since we witness the decadence of our bodily life. The spirit must live in the body and through the body it must express itself. The Indians must, therefore, build up robust bodies like their ancient forbears, develop once more the ideal of Brahmacharya (celibacy), of mental and bodily self-control, follow the plain dictate of Indian situation, cultivate the ideal of plain living and high thinking, bring out the limitless physical reserves of strength and endurance latent in the country. The Western luxuries are ruining us economically and morally. They are sapping the vitality even of

the Western nations : but they will simply complete our ruin. Wretched living, however, is not plain living. The people must get more and better food, and clean houses and streets, as a part of the ideal of sounder life which the nation desires to live now.

The nationalist calls upon the patriot to take up the burden of the country upon himself. New patriotism is anything but a luxury to be indulged in your leisure hours for fame and prosperity. The days of lotus-eating patriots who sometimes deceived others, are gone. The India of our imagination is a glorious picture: but the India of actuality is a grim thing, sore and tired, and poor and destitute, and ill and suffering. The new patriot has to indentify himself with this India of the twentieth century, so different from the India of the days of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The new patriot is as much conscious of the ignorance, the errors, the weaknesses, and the superstitions of his people as the Indian Liberal; but he goes further than the Indian Liberal in "seeing the eternal possibilities of light and love, and truth and strength that are hidden in the soul of his nation." The new love of the country demands hard work, laborious days, and a life of grim poverty and suffering, and possible martyrdom of every awakened child of the country. It is made of stern stuff. "It is easier to plunge one's self, like Brutus of old, horse and all, into the dark abyss, before the eyes of the admiring multitude, than to live laborious days, working up the national life, by hourly sacrifices of life and happiness, to see one's house and home, crumbling to dust inch by inch, one's dear ones slowly moving towards the grave, through the privations of self-imposed penury and one's ideal of art and beauty, and love and life standing for ever unrealised." The old ideal of patriotism could make fine reconciliations, the reconciliation of the fidelity to the Empire with devotion to one's country; the fidelity to one's culture with the pursuit of patriotism; the interests of the self and the

family with the interests of the nation; the material interests and desire for comfort and happiness with the material interests and economic well-being of the country. These ideals are not necessarily incompatible but in India of to-day, it is a simple mockery to talk of such vital reconciliations of opposites.

The old politics developed to perfection the arts of logic and rhetoric and brought them fully and unreservedly in the pursuit of their cause. These argumentations and declamations may make some stir; but they cannot make a lasting impression. The battles of a country are never won purely by logic and rhetoric. The vital factor which they ignored was the place of force and organization in politics. It is a well-known truth that diplomacy can work wonders only if it is backed by force. The British Government saw the logic but not the force behind the logic; that is the meaning of their statement that the educated classes do not represent the masses. "The success of constitutional or peaceful methods is determined, not by the strength of their logic, or the abstract justice of their claims, but only and always by the force that stands behind them, force not applied but capable of application, if need be, for the due realisation of their respective ends. In constitutional agitation, the force is a constitutional force; in more peaceful agitation, it is a moral force. The Congress had neither the one nor the other behind it. The Government had no constitution; the people at large had neither a political consciousness nor a political will; neither the inspiration of an intelligent ideal, nor the determination of a clear and definite purpose. The new movement created both. It presented an intelligible ideal, that of Swaraj or autonomy, and prescribed a definite and practical method which every man and every woman might at once adopt in his or her own sphere of life, for the furtherance of this ideal, namely, of self-help and passive resistance. From its ideal

the new propaganda derived its faith in its ultimate success; in its methods it had the assurance of peaceful advance towards that ultimate end."

The new movement stands for emphatically the old, historic Indian nation and demands that this nation will have its life shaped in consonance with its eternal genius. It has a racial, religious, cultural inspiration behind it. It proceeds from the soul of the people and goes to the soul of the people. It springs from the soil of India and has a strong national flavour about it; it is very racy of the soil from which it has sprung. It inspires men, women and children, classes and masses, the orthodox and the educated alike. It has given birth to a new literature, a new art, a new industry. Little girls sing in chorus:

"Cry Bande Mataram, -forty million brothers, forty million sisters; are we inferior to any?

Cry Bande Mataram."

This is the meaning of Tilak's campaign in the Maharashtra in the eighties and nineties of the last century. It was the re-forging of India on national lines, by national methods. Tilak started by making a new cult of the country and the nation. This new cult, this new 'ism' must have its own appropriate symbolism, its own rites and sacraments. Hence we must have our national hero-worship with all the paraphernalia of processions and other suitable machinery to capture the imagination of the Indian mind and to direct it from the worship of the western heroes and traditions to the worship of national gods and national heroes. Tilak was thus able "to effect the union of the new political spirit with the tradition and sentiment of the historic past and of both with the ineradicable religious temperament of the people, of which these festivals were the symbol. The Congress Movement was for a long time purely occidental in its mind, character and methods,

confined to the English educated few, founded on the political rights and interests of the people read in the light of English history and European ideals, but with no root either in the past of the country or in the inner spirit of the nation. Mr. Tilak was the first political leader to break through the routine of the somewhat academical methods, to bridge the gulf between the present and the past, and to restore continuity to the life of the nation."

In 1917, C. R. Das uttered the same message of a reform on national lines as a President of the Bengal Provincial Conference. Europe was in the melting-pot then, and a disillusionment about European culture was then in full swing. India, therefore, continued to try to find solace in her golden past. Das denounced the evils of competition and industrialism as the golden calf, symbolical of the ideas of Europe. "The state of the country to-day stood in sombre contrast with the Bengal of old. This calamity had been brought about because in the dust which had been raised by the clash of ideals of East and West, the people had lost sight of their own divinities, and had cast their offerings upon the altars of strange gods. The scales were now falling from their eyes...Already prophets of the race had arisen who had kindled once again the fires on the ancient altars. The Swadeshi movement had come like a tempest; it had rushed along impetuously like some mighty flood, submerging them, sweeping them off their feet, but revitalizing their lives. Under its reviving influence, they had steeped themselves once again in that stream of culture and civilisation which had been flowing perennially through the heart of Bengal. They had been enabled once more to catch glimpses of the true continuity of their national history. The main problem, for their consideration, therefore, was this—how to develop fully and adequately the newly awakened life of Bengal. In this critical period of nation-building, they must root

out and cast aside the European ideal of indulgence and must cleave fast to their native and ancient ideal of sacrifice. Problems of education and culture, of agriculture and commerce, must be dealt with in the light of their treatment in the past. The connection of these things with their ancient social system must be considered. And not this alone. They must consider also the precise relation in which all their thoughts, endeavours and activities stood, and still stand, with reference to the question of religion, for they would misread and misknow all things unless they kept this point steadily in view. They must accept only what was consonant with the genius of their being, and must regret and utterly cast aside what was foreign to their soul."

20. SWADESHI.

The Swadeshi movement has the support of all creeds and parties in India. The Extremists are even more enthusiastic than the Moderates for the Swadeshi cause, partly for the same reasons, partly for somewhat different reasons. Lajpat Rai calls it *the* remedy upon the right and continued use of which depends the alleviation of the sufferings of India. "I regard it," he said, "as *the salvation of my country*. The Swadeshi movement ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting, self-sacrificing and last, not least, manly. The Swadeshi movement ought to teach us how to organise our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents to the greatest good of all Indians, irrespective of creed, colour, or caste. It ought to unite us, our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding. It ought to furnish us with an altar before which we can all stand in the fullest sincerity of our hearts and in the deepest strength of faith, to pray for the good of our common motherland, with a determination to stand to-

gether and work together. In my opinion, the Swadeshi ought to be the common religion of the United India."

The Swadeshi as a vital part of the national movement, creates, first demand and then supply of the articles manufactured in India and aims to some extent at making India more self-contained and self-sufficient in respect of industries and manufactures. It is meant to check the commercial drain which is considered partly responsible for India's growing poverty. So far the Indian economics has been an economics of despair. The Swadeshi movement can convert it into an economics of hope.

Its value, however, lies still more perhaps in the demand upon Indian intelligence, Indian patriotism, and Indian capacity for organization that it makes. The old school stood to some extent for a policy of mendicancy; but the new school has evolved the weapon (which was rusting in the Congress armoury) which enables the Indian nation to look not to England but to itself for its salvation. It is a great gesture which makes for national self-respect and national prestige. There is a new note of manliness and of self-help. There is here a call for uniting and acting on a national issue; and once India learns the secret of collective action not imposed by the foreign agency, but evolved by herself, she at once takes a big step forward towards the goal. The policy of words gives way to the policy of action, the policy of dependence gives way to a policy of self-reliance, the policy of selfishness gives way to a policy of self-sacrifice.

India has been to-day an unwilling and helpless victim of the world forces of the economic order and is dragged hither and thither, not by her own sweet will, but at the will of others. It is the duty of the Indian people "to refuse to the very utmost of their power to participate in that conspiracy of modern trade by which their own

country and their own people are being impoverished in an accumulating ratio."

India has no choice of weapons. She has to fight only according to certain ways dictated to her as proper and legitimate and constitutional. The least she can do in order to vindicate both her interests and her self-respect is to refuse to be a voluntary party to the transaction by which the western goods, in ever increasing quantities, are poured upon her, to the detriment and even the ruin of her economic life. Her whole power of resistance and her whole impulse of self-preservation should be concentrated on this. //

This movement is unique in a way. Other countries fight their battles through their governments. India has to fight this economic battle herself, without expecting any enthusiastic and real support from the Government. But if India is weak in the weapons-political and military-with which the modern world fights, she has compensations in her spiritual life. "For it cannot be denied, that while Eastern peoples have hitherto shown themselves to be weaker than Western peoples in certain kinds of co-operation and self-defence, they have throughout the whole course of human history, proved themselves vastly stronger in ability to unite for the affirming of a given idea, in self-surrender to a moral impulse, in the power steadily to endure all the discomfort and deprivation or refusal for the sake of right. Thus the whole history of India fits the Indian people for a struggle in which there is no force to uphold the Dharma against the temptations of self-indulgence, of comfort and of individual selfishness, save that of the human will and the human conscience."

Here is a new trial of strength for the newly-awakened Indian people. Hitherto they have been taught in every way their own weakness and helplessness. This

weakness and defencelessness has been converting themselves from theories into facts. But the Indian has one resource still left. "There is the wealth of self-control and self-direction handed down to him by generations of austere and clean-living ancestors, and put out to interest in the steady routine of Hindu piety, day after day and year after year."

It is time for the Indians to begin meditating upon all their available sources of strength and efficiency. The economic motive must not always prove the strongest motive, especially in a nation so famous at one time for its spiritual ideals. The Indian will need not like the water go to the lowest available level. The Indians in the past did make heroic efforts and went against the flowing tide. There was a time when the Indians used to take beef. They liked it; it was cheap, available, and agreeable. Then a new and great idea dawned upon them; they took their stand on higher considerations of humanity and the permanent interests of their civilisation and eschewed beef-taking as a matter of religious duty. "The Swadeshi movement is the cow-protecting movement of the present age. There will yet come a time in India, when the man who buys from a foreigner what his own countrymen by any means could supply, will be regarded as on a level with the killer of cow to-day. For assuredly the two offences are morally identical."

It is not correct to say that the Swadeshi movement is bound to fail because it works against the interests of the Indian consumers. But man everywhere has risen out of savagery and has asserted his higher moral worth by his inherent power to curb his earthly appetites in favour of remote and larger purposes of life, by his refusals to go the easy way, to take the cheaper of the two results. The Swadeshi movement is a challenge to this heroic instinct-latent in all human beings-of the Indians. Poverty has been their lot; but must they accept poverty of will too?

Can they not manifest moral superiority over those who have conquered them materially? The Westerners have shown wonderful powers of co-operation in the cause of self-interest; it is for the Easterners to show equally wonderful powers of co-operation in the higher cause of self-sacrifice for an ideal. "The clear sight that shows us where to strike, and the strong love of our own people, the helpless little children of the motherland, that is to make every blow tell; these and these only are the conditions that we want. The Swadeshi movement has to stay and to grow and to drive back for ever in modern India the tides of reaction and despair."

The case for Swadeshi rests on artistic grounds also. There is a school of thinkers—Sir George Birdwood, Havell, Coomaraswamy—which thinks that the artistic genius of India used to express itself through her products; and it is necessary for Indian nationalists to take up the cause of these dying handicrafts which were the expression of Indian life and character. Real old Indian products are becoming rarer and rarer in the Indian markets; they are bought by American connoisseurs and European collectors for museums. "Indian design is an inexhaustible treasure-house of fine invention. But have you ever reflected that all this invention belongs to the past, that modern India, Anglicised India, has produced no beauty and no romance, but has gone far to destroy the beauty and romance which are our heritage from the past? Go into a Swadeshi shop—you will not find the evidences of Indian invention, the wealth of beauty which the Indian craftsman used to lavish on the simplest articles of daily use, fine muslins or the flower-woven silks with which we used to worship the beauty of Indian women, the brazen vessels from which we ate and drank, the carpets on which we trod with bare feet or the pictures that revealed to us the love of Radha, or the soul of the eternal snows."

The death of artistic Swadeshi is as great a loss to the finer life of the nation as the death of the economic Swadeshi has been to the material life of the nation. The new nationalist school intends to found the whole Indian future civilisation on Indian ideals and traditions. The subordination which it dreads most is not the economic and the political but the cultural subordination of India to the West.

{ A politically or economically emancipated India does not appeal to its imagination very much if the cultural conquest of India is complete. The beauty which is inherent in the soil of India, in her environments, in her past traditions, in her whole culture is India's priceless possession: and she should never exchange that for all the goods of the world. "Have you ever thought that India, politically and economically free, but subdued by Europe in her inmost soul is scarcely an ideal to be dreamt of, or to live or die for? 'India, vulgarised by modern education, and by the ideals of modern commercialism will never compensate humanity for India with its knowledge of beauty.' Have you ever realised that there are European artists who believe that when a new inspiration comes into European art it will come again from the East? Do you realise that when India was a great political power in Asia, when she colonised Java and inspired China, this also was the period of her greatest achievement in art?...Look around about you at the vulgarisation of modern India, our prostitution of art to the tourist trade—our use of kerosene tins for water jars, and galvanised zinc for tiles—our caricature of European dress—our homes furnished and ornamented in the style proverbial of sea-side lodging houses, with cut-glass chandeliers and china dogs and artificial flowers—our devotion to the harmonium and the gramophone—these things are the outward and damning proofs of some mighty evil in our souls."

It appears, therefore, that the blind imitation of the

Western culture even in our political and economic movement for greater freedom, has merely meant the barbarisation of India. Here is another explanation of the economic degradation. It is the loss of our artistic spirit more than anything else that has ruined Indian industries and prevents the possibility of their revival. "The neglect of Indian music has taken away the livelihood of the makers of musical instruments, with their hereditary and exquisite skill, has likewise destroyed the livelihood of Indian musicians, and fifteen lakhs worth of foreign instruments are annually imported from abroad. Observe that this is a double loss—material on the one hand, and spiritual on the other,—for not only has the community lost wealth in the shape of things, but wealth in the shape of men, men who possessed the cunning and the skill to make them. So too with the village weaver. Indian colouring and design have not been understood and loved, with the result that the weaver's livelihood is gone."

The whole Swadeshi movement so far conducted by the Moderate leaders lacks the basis of a proper, genuine national ideal. There is the Western economic ideal behind it—production of more goods, irrespective of quality, design, art—of more material wealth. This ideal has brought no peace to any part of the world. It has brought no elevation to Europe and America. How can it bring elevation to India? India will be committing cultural suicide if she develops the cult of Mammon-worship. She will then reproduce all the ills of the West, without any of the corresponding advantages. It is said of England, "there is collected a population in our great towns which equals in amount the whole of those who lived in England and Wales six centuries ago, but whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serf in the middle ages and the meanest

drudges of the medieval cities."

This note that India must not blindly reproduce the large scale economic organisation but must develop industrially on lines of her own, runs throughout the nationalist literature from Coomaraswamy to Gandhi. In Europe and America, humanity is ruthlessly sacrificed at the altar of wealth. The large-scale industry may or may not solve the economic problem. But it will certainly damage the moral and spiritual life of the nation. "Our industrial ideal," said Pal, "should not be the ideal of England or America, our industrial methods should not be the methods that have been followed and not followed with complete success either by England or America, because in every Western country this industrialism has created complex problems of capital and labour, economic and moral, before which the wisest statesmen, the greatest thinkers of the nation are sitting down almost in despair, and will you create the same problems in this country also? As man liveth not by bread alone, so nations do not also live and prosper merely by the production of marketable commodities."

It is the Indian craftsman, with his old artistic skill and simple life and beautiful ideals that must be revived. We must remember that man is more important than machine; we must look to the status of our skilled artisans, for the sake of the value to our country of men *as men*, not as mere producers of commodities. Machinery has not enriched our life. "To be satisfied with imitations—to be able to endure a gramophone after once hearing a living singer—to place imitative dexterity in art above the power of great invention or nobility of motif—to assume superiority of soul on the mere ground of increased empirical knowledge—to accept always the report of the senses against the report of intuition—to seek always for novelty—these things are the opposite of culture, and some of them are caused by, or made possible by, the destruction of the domestic crafts."

The new movement takes its stand in the first place ✖ on the fundamental ideal of Hindu culture, viz. the paramountcy of the Infinite and the Eternal and the Spiritual life, and demands that even our economic life should be based upon this ideal. Wealth has never been an end in itself in this country; the *artha* was always subordinated to *moksha*, *dharma*, and even *kama*. The Hindu scale of values was clear: the wealth was for life and life was for Eternity. How can India, therefore, now go in for the pursuit of mere wealth after the manner of the West without being false to herself? Secondly, Indian soul has to find its expression through Indian products, and machinery makes no provision for this peculiar element in things. Thirdly, the human and artistic qualities which made for stability and repose, dignity and refinement, are to be the object of greater regard than the mere piling up of wealth.

The Swadeshi is a cry; but what is the exact meaning of the cry? What is the ideal behind it? The ideal should be very carefully defined and properly understood; otherwise we are giving a false direction to the whole national civilisation of ours. The Swadeshi may mean the demand for industrialisation on Western lines or it may mean the development of our economic life and the conservation of our economic interest on the lines suited to our culture. It is age-long Indian culture which is seeking] expression through the new movement-Indian culture ✓
 \ that does not necessarily mean something retrograde, something obsolete, something mystical, and something superstitious. India demands that before she surrenders herself to new forces, she must be sure that the pristine beauty of her life should not suffer. The opposition here is not to the machine because it comes from the West; the opposition here is to the very ideal of civilisation as it is understood largely in the West. The problem is not merely that of economic competition between India and Western

countries; the problem is: which ideal of culture, Eastern or Western, spiritual or material, should prevail ?

The machine has a definite place in our civilisation. The spokesman for the artistic Swadeshi makes it clear that he has no quarrel with machines. "It is not machinery that we need to abandon in our search for culture. We could ill-spare the culture of the electrician, the engineer, and the builder of bridges. We have to use, we have put to misuse, the powers which machines give us." "The place of machinery in a true civilisation should be that of a servant, and not a master. It should carry out the simplest and most mechanical processes of manufacture, it should save the craftsman from the heaviest and the least interesting part of his work; but it should not rob him of that part of his labour which is his very craft. For if it does so rob him, not only is his own intelligence correspondingly destroyed but the community has to accept an environment æsthetically and spiritually inferior, an environment that certainly does not express or produce what we mean by culture."

"The problem is not how to abolish machinery, but how so to regulate it that it shall serve without enslaving man; how to stop competition between machine and hand-work by defining and delimiting intelligently the proper sphere of each. The community cannot afford to dispense with the intellectual and imaginative forces, the emotional and ethical factors in life which go with the existence of skilled craftsmen and small workshops. These must therefore, if we value culture-be protected within their proper sphere. The means to this end are the endowment of craftsmanship, and the transference of the control of production from the hands of those who exploit, into the hands of those who themselves create."

The Swadeshi then stands for a religious-artistic school. It is something more than an economic ideal or a poli-

tical weapon. It stands for a civilisation which believes more in the refinement of the quality of our desires than in the multiplication of the quantity of our desires. It will insist on restoring, not on destroying, the organic life of the village communities. It should find its highest motive not in accumulation of capital, not in apish imitation of Manchester and Lancashire, not in a desire to achieve political revenge, but in a genuine patriotism which allows us to realize that our country's gifts are "really intrinsically better than those which we can import—that our dyes, our hand-made gold thread, our designs, our ways of dressing and building, our jewellery, our carpets and all that goes to make the daily environment of our lives, are better than the things we import from Europe—more beautiful, more enduring, more vital in response and more a part of our real life."

There is thus a higher ideal of Swadeshi which is in our hearts and in our artistic understanding and a lower Swadeshi which is in our pockets. Our politicians have forgotten that men are of more account than things, that industry without art only brutalises and degrades, that the fault really lies in ourselves, that it is by our incapacity to understand what India is, and the consequent hatred of everything Indian, that we have destroyed our industries and degraded the status of our artisans, and that if we lose faith in ourselves, we can only be intellectual parasites and make of our country a suburb of Birmingham and Paris.

The national movement now tries to go to the root of the national weakness; it sees in the desire to imitate European ways of living in respect of dress or food or architecture or anything, an utter insincerity of purpose, a complete lack of genuine insight into and love of real India and her culture, and a lack of capacity to initiate or originate anything. The creative force is dying; this is the greatest disservice of the foreign *raj*, of the denationalised state of our

mind. A new India can only be born out of a new creative mind among the Indians, and for the release of this creative mind, the most essential thing is the restoration in this country of a true national sense, of a true national culture. The Swadeshi movement is anything but Swadeshi if it merely consists in transferring the seat of manufactures together with the conditions of production of the West to our country. The ideal is *bideshi* (foreign) the methods of production are *bideshi*; the nature of the goods is *bideshi*; the conditions of production which make the labourer a mere cog in a wheel are *bideshi*. The foreign origin which we should really quarrel with, is the origin and quality of goods emanating essentially from a capitalistic mentality given to the blind worship and production of wealth. This mentality is foreign to India and her real soul, to reproduce that mentality here and to evolve the same civilisation—an inferior imitation of it—is not the Swadeshi movement but its complete destruction. The Swadeshi means the expression of Indian ideals—spiritual, artistic and economic—in Indian life. “Industry *per se* is no advantage. The true end of material civilisation is not production for use, not labour, but leisure; not to destroy, but to make possible spiritual culture. A nation which sees its goal rather in the production of things, than in the lives of men, must in the end deservedly perish. Therefore it is that the Swadeshi movement, a synthesis of effort for the regeneration of India, should be guided by that true political economy that seeks to make men wise and happy, rather than merely to multiply their goods at the cost of physical and spiritual degradation.

“Do not then let us compete with Western nations by evolving for ourselves a factory system and a capitalist ownership of the means of production corresponding to theirs. Do not let us toil through all the wearisome stages of the industrial revolution—destruction of the guilds, domi-

nation of small workshops, the factory system, *laissez faire*, physical degradation, hideousness, trusts, the unemployed and unemployable...

"It is absolutely necessary for Swadeshi in India to be a far-sighted and constructive movement, if it is to be of ultimate and real benefit to the Indian people. The gaining of a temporary advantage, though valuable as a political weapon to-day, is a small matter compared with the ultimate development of Indian society. Swadeshi must be inspired by a broad and many-sided national sentiment and must have a definitely constructive aim..."

21. BOYCOTT.

A distinction is drawn in Indian nationalist literature between economic and political Swadeshism. The Government have shown themselves at least not opposed to a policy of "honest", "economic" Swadeshism. The controversies have gathered round the use of Swadeshi not merely for the encouragement of home manufactures, but as a political and economic weapon against the British Government and the British people, either in a fight on a specific issue like the Partition, or in the general fight for Swaraj.

The so-called honest or pure Swadeshism is Swadeshism without any political reference or motive behind it. It is use and encouragement of Indian goods, consistently with the open door in trade and commerce. The English opinion and the Indian Liberal opinion on the whole, favour only this type of Swadeshism, except that as a temporary measure against the Partition, the Liberals had supported political Swadeshism. Both these schools are really opposed on principle to the boycott of foreign or British goods.

The boycott represents a really daring and quite a novel departure in Indian politics. It first shows a practical

parting of ways in politics. In the boycott, politics in India radically changes its character and transforms itself into a practical movement with an open anti-British and anti-foreign bias. Practically, it does not appear on the surface to be different from the Swadeshi movement. The Swadeshi emphasises the positive part of the industrial movement, and the Boycott represents the negative part. The Swadeshi is for the production and use of Indian manufactured goods by Indians; the boycott means the discontinuance of the consumption of those articles not made in India. The choice has to be made by Indians between Indian and foreign goods, not merely on the ground of their cheapness and their quality, but also on the ground of the country of their origin. The nationalist economics asks Indians to safeguard and promote the best Indian industrial and commercial interests, if necessary even at the sacrifice of money or quality in the goods which they buy. The anti-British or anti-foreign economics asks Indians to turn their faces away from foreign goods, to discard them even if they happen to be cheap and attractive, because the interests of India conflict in this matter with the interests of the foreigners. Thus while there seems to be no practical difference between the two, there is a considerable difference in the underlying psychologies of these movements and some difference in the results brought about by either policy.

The nationalist points out that economics and politics are organically related to each other, and you cannot separate the one from the other. Economic Swadeshim has ample scope in a free country and in a country that has fully developed its manufacturing industries. England, for example, may and does practise to a certain extent the policy of economic Swadeshim when she raised the cry of "Buy British Goods" and leaves it to the patriotism and good sense of the people of Great Britain to carry out the policy of Swadeshi. But what is the situation in India?

India comes very low in the field of world-competition. She has vast natural resources, but has not the means and appliances of working out finished commodities from her raw materials. India is under the domination of a highly industrialised country which controls and regulates the fiscal policy of India, not in India's interests but in her own interests. Under such circumstances, India can never raise her head by a policy of economic Swadeshism. Has Great Britain regulated her relations with India in the past on a perfectly free and natural basis? "England has something to do with the decay of indigenous industry in India, and that something, was it merely an economic something or a political something? Did she not impose restrictions upon our industries in the earlier days of the East India Company rule with a view to help and further her own industries? And when our industries, which though in those days could to a very large extent compete with English industries in certain matters, were strangled by the application of political power, is it fair to ask us now to cultivate honest Swadeshism, economic Swadeshism, non-political Swadeshism? What is this 6% excise duty on the coarse yarn that has been imposed on the products of the Bombay mills? Is that honest economics?"

Such is the Extremists' reply to the official advocates of pure Swadeshism. To turn to the Indian Liberals, who are afraid of creating any trouble or of alienating the British Government or the British people in England. These Liberals advise a policy of caution and circumspection; but they ignore the realities of the situation altogether.

Take the economic boycott first. The economic boycott of all foreign goods is a difficult and perhaps an impossible proposition in the present state of our country. The nationalist, therefore, proposed the boycott of certain selected articles which the country could herself produce—foreign textiles, foreign salt, foreign sugar, and foreign enamelled

wares. The boycott here operates exactly as a strong Swadeshi campaign or a protective tariff (except that it is voluntary and self-imposed); it too selects and discriminates. The nationalist did not propose the boycott of books or scientific instruments or machinery. The voluntary regulation of production and consumption of articles suited to the country as far as it lies in the country's power; this is the principle which underlies both the Swadeshi and the boycott movements and the principle is perfectly sound so far as it goes.

The whole point about the use of boycott as an economic weapon is that it and it alone profoundly affects the psychology of the Indian people. The boycott supplies the motive, the driving force to the Swadeshi movement. The Moderates are nationalistic to a fault; they imagine that an intellectual proposition which appears to be quite sound to the academician in his closet must be equally influential with the masses. Here they thoroughly misunderstand the psychology of the mass-mind. If the Swadeshi movement is not to be a mere academic proposition, if the Swadeshi movement is to be a live movement actually swaying the minds of millions in a perfectly practical way, it has to carry convictions, to rouse emotions, and to captivate the imagination of the masses. The Swadeshi movement made more progress in a few days after 1905 than it did in so many years before 1905 because of the militant character of the nationalist agitation. The boycott is a war-cry, Swadeshi is not; and only a war-cry thrills people and carries them off their feet, and not a tame geometrical proposition, however sound it may be. "Touch not even a small dose of that which intoxicates the brain, that has been the injunction everywhere of temperance reform; because all these temperance reforms can only proceed upon the determination of the people to avoid the strong drinks and this determi-

nation can be kept up by a rigid law of exclusion and if once you allow a man to drink and yet call himself a total abstainer, you open the floodgate of temptation, you destroy the motive power, the strength of determination by which you hope to carry out the programme of reform. In boycott also this psychological law is applied."

In India administration and exploitation are parts of a common policy of the Government of India; and whoever tries to fight the economic exploitation is sooner or later driven to fight the other. The English are not, like the Moghuls, mere rulers; and they will never shrink from using their authority to protect their trade-interests when they think it necessary. It is this peculiar position of the Government that converts a virile Swadeshi campaign necessarily into a political campaign. But the boycott as a political weapon may be deliberately adopted by Indians either for a specific purpose or for the general object of getting Swaraj. It may have some vindictiveness behind it and may, therefore, rouse considerable vindictiveness in the party against which it is directed. But that happens inevitably in all warfare. Passions are necessarily roused on both sides and the Indians may be expected to fight their battles with such weapons as they have. In boycott they find a perfectly legitimate weapon calculated to bring practical pressure upon the English people and capable of retaliating the inequity that is inflicted upon them by a specific law or administrative measure or the general policy of exploitation. The boycott is India's answer to Partition; the boycott is India's answer to commercial drain; the boycott is India's answer to a policy of repression.

It is perfectly understandable that the policy of boycott does not appeal to the Indian Liberals. Some of these amiable gentlemen hope to accomplish wonders by a policy of prayer and persuasion and sweet reasonableness.

These men want *peace at any price*," they do not want to give any pain to anyone at all, particularly to the official class. The prayer may be a powerful instrument of religious discipline; but it will require a great stretch, as Lajpat Rai pointed out, and an inconceivable amount of credulity to accept that such prayers would lead to practical result in political matters. "Prayers to Almighty God may be useful in intensifying your desire for political liberty and political privileges. Prayers to the ruling nation may be useful to you in proving the *uselessness* of appealing to the higher sense of man in matters political where the interests of one nation clash with those of another and in driving you to the conclusion that human nature, constituted as it is, is extremely selfish and is not likely to change or bend unless the force of circumstances compels it to do so in spite of itself."

There is then the practical consideration whether it is wise or politic on our part to alienate from us the British people, by a demonstration of this type. The Liberal party puts its faith on the good sense and sense of justice of the great British nation. The boycott is likely to hit hard both the British manufacturers and the British men. But a Swadeshi movement hurts these interests as much as the boycott movement. So far as the British interests go, there is no difference between the two.

What is further the value of the British electorate to the Indian cause? The British elector is often sympathetic to the tales of oppression in other countries; but usually he is too busy to be much interested in or informed about all our Indian affairs. Past history even shows that British people have often opposed proposals to do more justice to India made by the Government of India. This, then, is the situation. "To our wrongs, the British elector is indifferent; to our rights, even if supported by good Englishmen in India, they have been opposed."

There is, then, the ultimate question whether the British are prepared to give us full political privileges in exchange for open markets for their goods. This is a big problem; but it will face us only when we have been able to press boycott to its logical conclusion. Till then, the question simply does not arise.

The whole point about the boycott movement is to generate that force in India which may bring actual pressure upon the mind of the governing classes. The Moderates relied upon reasoning; but reasoning unsupported by facts, by the pressure of practical interest, by some concrete force, unfortunately proves a perfectly useless instrument in the affairs of man. The Extremists saw this fatal weakness of Indian politics as it was conducted upto 1905 and struck out this new direction. The boycott sprang from the despair to which the country was reduced by its own utter helplessness in political matters.

The English are a practical people, and practical arguments appeal to them more than philosophic considerations. John Bull's tender point is his economic sense; you can move him only if you touch his pocket. "The logic of losing business," said Lajpat Rai, "is more likely to impress this nation of shop-keepers than any arguments based on the ethics of justice and fair play. The British people are not a spiritual people. They are either a fighting race or a commercial nation. It will be throwing pearls before swine to appeal to them in the name of higher morality or justice or on ethical grounds. They are a self-reliant, haughty people, who can appreciate self-respect even in their opponents. It is then for the Indians to decide whether they mean to continue to appeal to them in the name of God, justice, fair play, or whether they intend to attract their attention to the existing intolerable condition of things in India by inflicting losses in business and by adopting an attitude of retalia-

tory self-reliance."

The boycott movement was intended to develop into a movement for passive resistance. "In Eastern Bengal one flat loaded with Liverpool salt was sent to a mart in the river Magna. The coolies of that mart refused to unload the flat." This is passive resistance. The essential object of the boycott movement was not the mere protection of Indian industries, but it was the creation of national determination which may work out the problem of Swaraj. The boycott, therefore, was to develop into a sort of repudiation of honours, titles, honorary offices, and even Councils and Municipalities. Its purpose was to create a new social atmosphere in which the Governmental institutions would wither and the popular institutions might flourish. "The meaning of the boycott is this. It desires to reduce the Government to Shylock's pound of flesh rule. The primary thing is prestige of the Government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige. That illusory thing which they call prestige is more powerful, more potent than the authority itself and we propose to do this by means of boycott. . . . We do not hate the foreigner, not the British, nor even the Government. We want to be indifferent to them. It is benevolent indifference. We desire to turn our faces away from the Government House and turn them to the huts of the people. We desire to stop our mouth so far as an appeal to the Government is concerned, and to open our mouth with a new appeal to our own countrymen, to our own people, to the masses of our people. This is the psychology, this is the ethics, this is the spiritual significance of the boycott movement. We can kill the prestige, the social value, that is associated with Government service...The Deputy Magistrate pockets his conscience and pockets all the insults which he receives from the officials, because these things are known to nobody else; but when he goes

out of office, he receives salaams. But when he goes out of the office, nobody salaams him, then the temptation for sacrificing his conscience, then the self-respect for keeping the office will be reduced to a minimum; and this fact will create endless difficulties in maintaining the discipline of the Government offices. This is what it will come to and this is absolutely lawful. No law compels a man to give a chair to a man who comes to his house. He may give it to an ordinary shop-keeper; he may refuse that honour to the Deputy Magistrate. He may give his daughter in marriage to a poor beggar; he may refuse any alliance with the son of a Deputy Magistrate, because it is absolutely within his rights, absolutely within legal bounds."

The positive part of the movement aimed at setting up a machinery of self-government which may run parallel to, but independently of the Government. There are many admirable social objectives like industrial welfare, medical relief, education, which may stimulate the spirit of self-help, self-sacrifice, and above all of co-operation for national purposes. These institutions may be the training-ground in the art of civic life, in co-operative work for public good and in the art of self-government.

22. NATIONAL EDUCATION.

If the essential idea behind the new movement is radically different from the essential idea behind the Liberal and Imperial schools, the methods of attaining the idea will be equally different. Liberalism stands for a policy of progressive assimilation of the British. Hence there were differences only of detail between the official and the Liberal school as regards the methods of carrying out the common ideal. But the object of the new movement is to help the ancient spirit and genius of the Indian

nation to re-assert itself in a suitable form under modern conditions. The Liberal school looks forward to the growth and formation of an Indian nationality by the direct influence of the British administration and Western education. The Nationalist school looks forward not to the formation of a new Indian nation, but to the re-birth of the Indian nation, and that not so much by the action as by the re-action set up by a foreign rule and a foreign system of education against itself. Thus, from this new point of view, the whole work of the British in India has come to be viewed from a different angle and evaluated, therefore, quite differently in relation to the well-being and destiny of the Indian nation. The very things like British peace and British education considered as pure blessings of the British Raj by the Liberal School are here considered as so many curses in disguise, so many attempts of a civilised and refined type to finish the work of destruction begun by the British rule. "One of the most remarkable features of British rule in India has been the fact that the injuries done to the people of India have taken the outward form of blessings. Of this, education is a striking example; for no more crushing blows have ever been struck at the roots of Indian National evolution than those which have been struck, often with other and the best intentions in the name of education."

The importance of education as a factor in the building of a society has been amply recognised by all the schools of political thought in India, both official and non-official, and all the authorities outside India. But the importance of education in India as a foundation for national greatness, both in point of wealth and culture, has not received much attention so far either in theory or in practice. The colossal ignorance and industrial backwardness of India make it all the more imperative for her patriots and

statesmen to turn to education of the right type as the one necessary thing for India. "In a country where the economic circumstances brought about by an alien rule, force the people to look at other countries for even the necessities of life, where the unlimited resources provided by a bountiful providence are closed to the sons of the soil and are only accessible to clever, energetic, and enterprising foreigners, where the wealth of the country is being daily drained out of the country, and where a fairly intelligent population is, for want of education and opportunities, being reduced to the position of drawers of water and hewers of wood; education, I say, is a question of life and death."

Now the quarrel of the Liberals with the authorities was mainly as regards the quantity and extent of education; but the quarrel of the nationalist is as regards the fundamental ideal behind the present system of education obtaining in India and the methods by which that ideal is attained. The Government was actuated to a great extent by the motive of creating a body of intellectuals trained in Western ideals who can understand the beneficent mission of the West and interpret it to the mass-mind, who can serve as administrative and commercial intermediaries between England and India, thus facilitating the process of exploitation and foreign domination by means of native agency and clearing away the mists of ignorance and superstition, which foreboded unknown dangers to the British Government. The whole Liberal school of Indian politicians was the outcome of this education; and who can say that the Government policy of creating a loyal and subservient India was not amply justified? There was also a secret hope in the minds of the authors of the educational policy in those days that the inevitable result of the introduction of English education into India would serve to Christianise the whole of India. "It is my firm belief," wrote Macaulay (Letter to his mother, Oct. 12th. 1836) "that if our plan of education

is followed up, there would not be a single idolator in Bengal 30 years hence!" The whole minute of Macaulay assumes that India is hopelessly sunk in corruption and ignorance and superstition and had no really useful or inspiring culture of her own; and if this assumption is justified, it would be proper to take the line he took and base all his hopes of Indian regeneration on her complete Westernisation. The Liberals have practically accepted all this and have never missed an opportunity of singing the praises of the new system of education and its wonderful results to Indian life and civilisation.

The nationalists repudiate all the assumptions of Macaulay's minute and boldly assert that the new system of education, motivated as it was by imperial selfishness, could only denationalise and devitalise India. B. C. Pal wrote: "The attempt to direct and control the course of public education in the country, mainly and primarily in the interest of the Government, is not new. It is a universal element of state-craft. The injury and injustice come in only when there is a conceit of separate interests in the governing classes, who seek, in that case, to curb and cripple the normal course of intellectual and social evolution in the community, out of regard for the prerogatives and privileges of their own body. The British Government in India has, from the very beginning, tried to shape and control the course of public education, and the motive has always been to strengthen the foundations of their political authority in the country."

This "outlandish and rootless" system of education has destroyed the very springs of national life and energy. It has taught us dependence upon an alien power and an alien culture as the one hope of our national life. It is a denationalising system in every way. It has no reference to Indian life, to the actualities of Indian history, to the realities of our physical environment. It teaches us how to

repeat words without understanding them at all. The greatest pity of it is "that it has divorced our minds, our hearts, our spirits, our character and manhood from our national life... The grass-covered fields, the paddy fields, the mango-groves, the flowering *champaks*, the flowering *bakula*, the *ashoka* tree; all these do not awaken in us any intellectual quickening, or emotional movement, because from our childhood onwards we have lived apart from the actualities of our life."

The manufacture of loyal citizens—loyal to the British Empire—can never be the educational ideal of the Indian nation. The moment the Government saw that a by-product of this education was the "discontented B. A.", the political agitator of the new brand, it began to revise its policy. This was the meaning of the University Act of Lord Curzon. Writers like Burke were eschewed from the University; and if passion for freedom flows from the reading of European history, its study may be tabooed at the University. The officially-controlled education thus led nowhere. It was condemned by officials and non-officials alike. "It was shallow and rootless. It imparted the shadow but not the substance of modern culture to the youths of the nation. It was artificial because foreign in both spirit and form. It led to a fearful waste of youthful time and energy by imposing the necessity of learning a foreign language, to receive instruction through the medium in all higher branches of study. It was controlled by an alien bureaucracy, in the interests mainly of its own political position. It was excessively literary and detrimental to the industrial and economic life of the country."

Hence the demand for "national education" in the country. National education is education conducted along national lines and under national control. It should attempt to bring home the culture of the world to the Indian mind through an Indian language, and in terms of Indian life

and experience. The facts, the illustrations regarding all appeal to nature and history should be drawn from Indian environment and culture. The object of the whole system should be the realisation of Indian national destiny. It should aim at creating genuine Indians and not lifeless imitations of Englishmen, because its main function is to 'draw out the characteristics and qualities of the taught. It should not be based on the delusion that Indians are savages and its mission is to "convert the heathen", "to civilise the superstitious and caste-ridden mind of India." It should on the other hand, base itself on the actualities of Indian culture; for if we have to reach the Indian mind, it can only be reached through Indian ideals.

The necessity of Indian agency also cannot be over-emphasised. The teachers should be inheritors of Indian traditions and full of reverence for them. Others can be teachers of particular subjects; but not true educators. "The most denationalised Indian is still more Indian than a European...There is one true service, and one only, which England can render to the cause of Indian education; it is the placing of the education budget and the entire control of education in Indian hands ..It will be for us to develop the Indian intelligence."

Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer thus summarises the new ideal of national education: "What is a national system of education ? It should be a system of education which, while giving us full and efficient training in all practical pursuits of life, will prevent us from being denationalised, will keep us in touch, in spirit as well as in form, with our ancient civilisation and national characteristics, and will make us a patriotic and self-respecting nation. It will enable us to assimilate all that is useful to progress in these days, in Western civilisation and at the same time preserve our distinct nationality. Under such a system of education as I conceive it, more attention will be paid in schools and

colleges, to western science than to western literature, more attention to our past history, to our religious and secular literature, to our national habits than to those of other countries. It will be in complete sympathy with and a faithful reflection of the inner spirit of the people, their thoughts and aspirations. It will respect, revive, and cultivate our arts and industries, our literature, our music, our sports, and pastimes. It will inculcate habits of simplicity, greatness, reverence, and charity. It will inspire the minds of our youths with reverence for our ancient and immortal sages and for their teachings. It will expound the divinity of our Mother and the hallowed land of our Rishis and Munis, the first preceptors of mankind, and instil a feeling of the profoundest reverence for her person and name and a filial gratitude for her unspeakable suffering and sacrifice for her multitudinous children and for the tenderness with which she has nursed them on her vast bosom during centuries of trouble and turmoil. Such is national education as I understand it. It is impossible that we can receive such education from foreigners. In their hands it has made us a nation of quill-drivers and coolies. Our educated classes have added neither to the wealth of the country, nor to the moral strength of the nation. We have reason to feel ashamed of some of our educated countrymen in official service. They are corrupt, cowardly, and unfaithful to the mother that gave them birth. They have sold their soul for a mess of pottage. They deliberately injure their country and bring trouble to their brothers simply that they may be in the good graces of their official superiors...To perpetuate such a state is the inner meaning of the policy of the present system of education."

23. *INNER SIGNIFICANCE OF HINDU NATIONALISM.*

During the troubled years from 1905 to 1910, India

passed through a great phase of her history. She experienced one of those storms which every nation, as it passes from childhood to adolescence, experiences. These were the birth-pangs of the new movement. These outward symptoms—the Partition of Bengal, the deportation of leaders, the resignation of a Lieutenant-General, the use of bombs and revolvers, press prosecution and the Reforms of 1909—belong to this period called the period of “Indian unrest.”

A movement like this is not to be judged by concrete results. Nor is it to be laughed out as the outcome of a few maniacs. There were some very great men behind it; and the work which they have done has left a permanent mark on the nation's history. They have generated those forces which make for the re-birth of this nation. They were the path-breakers; they partly led; but they were partly carried away by the storm; and want of experience betrayed them into some fatal mistakes. All their reasonings may not have stood the test of time. But the great ideas upon which they built have permanently become the foundation-stones of the revised Indian nationality of to-day and to-morrow.

What is their greatest contribution to the cause of Indian culture and progress? They revived and emphasised this great idea that India is a single country, that she has a great and glorious past, that her present and future culture can only grow on the basis of that great past, that the Indian nationality is not a body of heterogeneous atoms brought together to some extent for the first time and given some element of culture for the first time by the British people; that the Indian nationality is there from times immemorial and it will assert itself only in its own way in this modern world and once more proceed to develop itself on lines peculiar to its genius, marked out by its history, by its environment, and by its past culture.

The examination of the concept of nationality in its application to the peculiar problems of India and its precise meaning is a task bequeathed to us by this movement. That Hindu nationalism is a distinct and characteristic phenomenon from the Muslim nationalism and that Indian nationalism is equally destined to be a characteristic and independent phenomenon from English imperialism—these are the lessons of the whole movement. The Indian nation constitutes or ought to constitute an end in itself. It cannot be treated as a mere means to an end external to itself, viz. the life of the British Empire. Such is the claim of this movement. This claim is addressed both to the imperial Britain and to the vast multitudes of India. The claim to an autonomous existence will be justified only if there is something more in the cry of separation than the mere desire of a few restless patriots to get rid of the domination which does not suit them. The Swaraj is not so much a right or a claim as a duty. Swaraj is Swadharma. It is a duty to realise ourselves to the full measure of our capacity in the wider interests of the culture and civilisation of the world. “We feel that loyalty for us consists in loyalty to the ideal of an Indian nation, politically, economically, and intellectually free, that is, we believe in India for the Indians; but if we do so, it is not merely because we want our own India for ourselves, but because we believe that every nation has its own part to play in the long tale of human progress, and that nations, which are not free to develop their own individuality and own character, are also unable to make the contribution to the sum of human culture which the world has a right to expect from them.” *Bande mataram* !

TYPES OF INDIAN NATIONALISM: A SURVEY (1905-1917)

1. *TILAK SCHOOL.*

The great school of militant nationalism flourished under the leadership of Tilak, B. C. Pal, and Lala Lajpat Rai. This school was an all-India school, as important as the Liberal school, if not more, in its influence over Indian thought and life. On the whole this school stood for a peaceful revolution in India. Lokamanya Tilak was not a revolutionary leader by nature. His genius was not destructive but constructive. He was a shrewd, practical man and was never swept off his feet by his emotions. He was opposed to the otiose methods of the old Congress as he wanted to use the Congress as a central living organisation doing practical work. "Moreover, though he has ideals, he is not an idealist by character. Once the ideal fixed, all the rest is for him practical work, the facing of hard facts...the use of strong and effective means with the utmost care and prudence consistent with the primary need of as rapid an effectivity as will and earnest action can bring about. Though he can be obstinate and iron-willed when his mind is made up as to the necessity of a course of action or the indispensable recognition of a principle, he is always ready for a compromise which will allow of getting real work done, and will take willingly half a loaf rather than no bread, though always with the full intention of getting the whole loaf in good time. But he will not accept chaff or plaster in place of good bread. Nor does he like to go far ahead of possibilities and indeed has often shown in this

respect a caution highly disconcerting to the more impatient of his followers. But neither would he mistake, like the born Moderate the minimum effort and the minimum immediate aim for the utmost possibility of the moment...

“ If then, Mr. Tilak has throughout his life been an exponent of the idea of radical change in politics, it is due to that clear or practical sense, essential in a leader of political action, which seizes at once on the main necessity and goes straight without hesitation or deviation to the indispensable means. There are always two classes of political mind : one is pre-occupied with details for their own sake, revels in the petty points of the moment and puts away into the background the great principles and the great necessities; the other sees rather these first and always and details only in relation to them. The one mind moves in a routine circle which may or may not have an issue; it cannot see the forest for the trees. The other class take a mountain-top view of the goal and all the directions and keep that in their mental compass through all the deflections, retardations and tortuosities which the character of the intervening country may compel them to accept, but these they abridge as much as possible. The former class arrogates the name of statesmen in their own day; it is to the latter that posterity concedes it and sees in them the true leaders of great movements.

“ Moreover, in India, owing to the divorce of political activity from the actual governance and administration of the affairs of the country, an academical turn of thought is too common in our dealings with politics. But Tilak has never been an academic politician, a “student of politics” meddling with action; his turn has always been to see actualities and move forward in their light. It was impossible for him to accept the academic sophism of a gradual preparation for liberty, or merely to discuss isolated or omnibus grievances, and strive to enlighten the

darkness of the official mind by luminous speeches and resolutions, as was the general practice of Congress politics till 1905. He saw that for a people circumstanced like ours there could be only one political question and one aim, not the gradual improvement of the present administration into something in the end fundamentally the opposite of itself, but the early substitution of Indian and national for English and bureaucratic control in the affairs of India. A subject nation does not prepare itself by gradual progress for liberty, it opens by liberty its way to rapid progress. The only progress that has to be made in the preparation for liberty is progress in the awakening of the national spirit and in the creation of the will to be free and the will to adopt the necessary means and bear the necessary sacrifices for liberty. It is these clear perceptions that have regulated his political career."

Lokamanya Tilak has never been understood by the official mind. He has been taken as a prince of seditionists, as the arch-plotter against the British Government. It is idle to say that he was a Brahmin, a Chitpavan Brahmin, a Deccani Chitpavan Brahmin and as such he strove to revive the dominance of his own people. His supreme work consisted not so much in agitation for rights as in education of the Indian people in the new ideals of liberty and self-government. Revolutions are often born out of ignorance and prejudice: Tilak set himself to remove these. "To cure this inertia and sexlessness of the Indian population, to lead them to take some active interest in the larger affairs of the State, to train them to habits of independent thinking and self-reliant civic activities, and through these, to inspire them with a sense of their strength and a vision of their destiny—these are about the most effective prophylactics against all sorts of revolutionary patriotic outbursts. All these help to humanise historic movements, bring them

within the realm of man's rational efforts and activities, while long-continued inertia and sexlessness help only to brutalise historic and political re-actions."

✓ 2. *OLD NATIONALISM & GOKHALE SCHOOL.*

The Maharashtra deserves the credit, in a way, of having contributed more to the making of the modern Indian mind especially in the social and political sphere, with the exception to some extent of Bengal than other provinces of India. The great awakening under Shivaji was the first great assertion of the Hindu mind in the modern history of India; Mahadeo Govind Ranade led the Social Reform movement and his lucidity, simplicity, sobriety, steady and yet deep patriotism, have made him one of the greatest Indians of the last century; the Maharajah Gaekwad of Baroda, has as much by his thought as by his great measures of social legislation, made a unique contribution to the modern life of India to-day; Gopal Krishna Gokhale was really the prince of Indian Liberals, because he embodied the best in that school both in thought and in practice; and equal to all these great men but in a different direction, Lokamanya Tilak by his vigour, courage, self-sacrifice and his shrewd political insight created a new patriotic tradition in the country.

If Tilak represents one great phase of Indian Nationalism, Gokhale represents another. It is a shallow patriotism which can worship the one only by running down the other. Each one is a complement of the other, as each of these movements is the complement of the other. It is inevitable in the march of history that when one school in the course of its development begins to suffer a sort of arrest because of its limitations and one-sidedness, another school which follows it, has to devote itself to pointing out, often with exaggeration, the shortcomings of

the preceding school. The Extremists, therefore, in order to establish their own new positions have to show that they are very different from the Moderates; and that the Moderate school was in its nature bound to lead India nowhere. But the later students of the movements who do not labour under party obsessions can take a more detached view and see both the contributions and the limitations of each of these movements.

Gokhale, therefore, stood for a constructive nationalism as much as Tilak and his party. Gokhale and his school stood definitely for democratic ideals; so also does the new school stand for the same ideal of self-government. The whole Indian political agitation from 1885 to to-day stands for the transformation of the medieval Indian society, dominated by the feudal ideals and the rule of privilege into a modern type of representative democracy in which the people find adequate opportunities for the expression and assertion of their own wishes and interests. In practical politics, the goal of both parties was identical; only the Moderates generally took a more practical view of the situation and avoided discussions on fundamentals which were likely to prove controversial; while the Extremists demanded greater clarification and a bolder assertion of the ideal.) It is easy to demand a clear definition of the political goal; but it is not so easy to enunciate clearly an ideal acceptable to all which can be the basis of unanimous constructive efforts in further progress. A clever tactician does not rouse premature opposition by talking too early of his far-off objectives; but step by step as he progresses and the forces congenial to him develop, reveals the ideal to the public or the other party. This was what the Moderates always felt. They did not see clearly the goal themselves; how can they then be expected to lay it down in black and white in their early struggles? They thought that it would be in the highest

degree indiscreet to talk about distant objectives which do not effectively come within the range of practical politics. They feared that they would not be taken seriously; that they would be ruled out as dreamers and visionaries if they talked about things which they could not achieve.

(The Extremists had more fire, more vision, more imagination than the Moderates. The Moderates had more caution, more circumspection, better grasp of immediate realities than the Extremists. The game of the Extremists was risky, fraught with unknown perils; the game of the Moderates was comparatively more insured against catastrophes; there was neither much to gain or much to lose. ✓

Each party instinctively felt that the other was equally indispensable to healthy functioning of Indian politics; and in its better moments accepted its co-operation. Thus Pandit Dhar said in his Presidential speech: "Enthusiasm is good, and idealism is good, and even crying for the moon is sometimes good; and I, for one, sympathise with those who are called visionaries and dreamers; for I know that in every active and reforming body there is always an extreme wing that is not without its uses in great human movements. I know that moderation sometimes means indifference and cautious timidity, and I hold that India needs bold and enthusiastic characters-not men of pale hopes and middling expectation but courageous natures, fanatics in the cause of their country." In the same strain, Hon. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, welcoming the Extremist party back to the Congress fold, said: "In a common cause the failure of one method easily gives a handle to exaggerate the importance of an opposite view. But if there be honesty of motive and singleness of purpose, the widest divergence of opinion need neither frighten nor irritate any reasonable mind; action and re-action is the law of nature's evolution. Struggle represents animation as stillness indicates stagnation and thus even the muddy

water of a rushing stream is ever more wholesome than the transparent water of a stagnant pool. In politics healthy opposition indicates the vitality of national life and the disturbances and disruptions that occasionally take place in the life of a nation serve only to clear and purify the atmosphere it breathes and rarify the ether it inhales... The real strength of a nation does not lie in mere smooth work, but in solidarity and compactness when the national interests demand them and in sinking all personal differences as soon as the trumpet-call of duty is sounded to rally round a common cause..Where the end is the same, the diverse means and methods to attain that end should not betray either parties or individuals into a course of action which defeats that end. A principle divorced from practice is apt to degenerate into a morbid sentiment and for all practical purposes even the noblest of sentiments must at times bend itself to the stern necessities of circumstances and be regulated by a spirit of mutual confidence, toleration, forbearance, and even sacrifice. The misfortune is that in the heat of a controversy we often lose sight of the end, and missing the real issue substitute the means for the end. Let us now no longer disparage the old nor despise the young. If youthful zeal and enthusiasm are noble assets, the judgment and experience as also the caution and sobriety of the old are no less useful and indispensable...Believing as I do, in the evolution of a national life in perpetual succession, I have no difficulty in admitting that there is a limit also to caution, wisdom, and sobriety, beyond which they cannot be exercised without their forfeiting the characteristics of these virtues and without their degenerating into pusillanimity and moral turpitude. There is as much danger in rashness as in imbecility, and the one may serve as a cloak for inaction as the other may contribute to wreck the most useful institutions. It should be fairly acknowledged that if the "Old Congressmen" have so far

failed to run faster than they have done, they have at least done one thing, in that they have walked steadily and never stumbled. Men run before they learn to walk and if walking is a slower process, running is certainly not a surer method to avoid a fall."

Tilak also wrote in the *Kesari* about the necessity on the part of both sides to understand each other and to work in unison for a common object: "Both the Moderates and the Nationalists must remember that persons belonging to both the parties are actuated by a sincere desire to promote the welfare of the country, and that none is deliberately working to bring about the ruin of the country. If both parties start with this assumption, if both are willing to accept the existence of difference of opinions as inevitable, and as constituting a healthy sign in the body politic, there would be less room for misunderstandings. Both the parties should realise that only in unity is there safety, and that this unity they have to keep in spite of acute differences of opinion.....The Moderates should remember that it is because the New Party has come into existence that the bureaucracy condescends to 'rally' them. The Nationalists must understand that though the caution and hesitation of the Moderates is often galling to them, still their influence and prestige is not to be despised."

There may not have been much conscious co-operation between these two parties which merely represent the two different types of temperament; but there has been an unconscious co-operation in the service of a wider national end, in spite of their conscious opposition to each other. The Moderates continued to contribute to the Indian political literature of wisdom and moderation, of slow but steady progress, and the Extremists continued to contribute to the Indian political thought as well as Indian political

life, the dynamic elements so much missing in "old" politics.

Gokhale and his school, like Tilak and his school, stand for a type of thinking in the country, which the country cannot do without. There is scope in a nation's life both for slow politics as well as for vivid and dramatic and heroic politics. There are moments when a nation suddenly awakens to a new situation, and covers the march of decades in as many years or months. It is then that the men of vision shine; it is then that the radical in politics, the whole-hogger 'rides the storm and directs the whirlwind.' But this mood cannot last. Politics sobered down, and in the years to come there is done a valuable work of consolidation of the ground won and of slow and patient construction of the new. It is then that the Conservative politician with his mind fixed on actualities takes the ship of society cautiously into difficult waters with his usual discretion and strong sense of fact.

The older type of nationalism represented by Gokhale eminently did the work of slow progress and consolidation, in Indian political life. It laid more stress on achievements than on ideals, on the means than the end. The end need not be a dazzling one; it was good government, it was representative government; it was colonial self-government. How was that end to be attained? The Moderates parted company with the Extremists as regards the nature of the methods to be employed in achieving the end. Indian democracy, they felt, cannot be built upon any miracle in a few years. It must be a very long, tedious process. It must grow, it cannot be improvised. "In the nature of things it was an end to be attained by constitutional methods, by education of Indian opinion, by making the most of avenues open to the expression of opinion, by practical demonstration of the fact that Indians were

capable of responsible government, and by the painstaking manipulation of all legitimate means by which pressure might be brought to bear both upon the Indian and the English Governments for the liberalising of constitutional machinery in India." The task of education of the whole Indian mass must be a very slow process; and the task of pressing on with constitutional development from stage to stage must be equally difficult and slow. The Moderates wanted the new democracy to be based on the intelligence of the people; and the intelligence of the people had to be awakened and organised by the education of the intelligentsia, and the propaganda of the Press, and the work in the Congress and the Councils, and the infiltration of political sense from the classes to the masses. Constitutional development should not outrun social progress; it should be the expression at each stage of further social progress. Hence the demand not for the whole loaf—not for undiluted Swaraj—but for Swaraj by stages.

The old Nationalists accepted wholeheartedly the basic principles and ideals implicit in the British rule in India and concentrated all their energy in bringing to full fruition and realisation these principles and ideals in the daily life of the Indian people and in their social and political institutions. British connection, British protection, British leadership, British co-operation were absolutely indispensable to the realisation of India's highest dreams. Here again there is a radical difference between the old and the new nationalism. They felt that any politics in India which ignored this fundamental factor was bound to end in smoke. They knew that the British Government could not be blown away by a few puffs of fine rhetoric; nor would it disappear by the magic wand of "Indian culture." They knew that even if it could be blown away, there was nothing in the country to take its place. They felt that the nationalist of

the new school had abundance of force and driving power; and they bowed down their heads to that great emotional wave which was sweeping the country. "If I were asked, what was the first demand of the Motherland," asked Hon. Muzumdar, "upon her children at this juncture, I would unhesitatingly answer that it is Patriotism. And the second? Patriotism. And the third? Patriotism." Here the Liberal patriot truly recognises the place of the new movement in the country. But he asked, "What is that patriotism which the country above all needs? I do not mean that morbid sentiment which takes a man off his feet and lands him in disasters; nor that sentiment which panders to the passion and does not appeal to reason; but I mean that supreme virtue which enlightens the head and ennobles the heart, and under the heavenly inspiration of which a man forgets himself and merges his individuality like a drop in an ocean, in the vast all-absorbing interest of his country, feeding only on self-sacrifice and ever growing on what it feeds." The Indian Liberal staked his all on that patriotism which sees the country in the Empire and the Empire in the country and hoped to rear the majestic fabric of Indian State on the solid rock of the British Empire. ✓

Taking his stand on this basis, it was then easy for the Indian Liberal to develop a campaign of ceaseless criticism on the details of administration. If you leave the fundamentals untouched, if you pay homage to the principle of British overlordship, you will acquire a special privilege to make your loyalty, the loyalty not of a willing and blind slave, but of an intelligent citizen. The officials cannot question your motives; they cannot quarrel with your methods; they can only quarrel as regards the validity of your arguments and facts. The Moderates would admit that the constitutional government in India is different from the constitutional government in England; and consequently the method of constitutional agitation may not yield the

same results at once in India which they yield in England. But they denied and denied rightly that autocratic as the basis of Indian Government is, the autocracy is fundamentally different from the autocracy of Alaudin-Khilji or Aurungzeb. The Extremist would prefer the autocracy of the native tyrant; the Moderate was convinced that there is no comparison between the two, that the British constitutional traditions do operate to some extent both in form and in spirit in India and give the present Government, however arbitrary it may be, an infinite superiority over the past Indian Governments except those of benevolent despots like Ashoka or Akbar. The present forms of government in India give considerable scope for free criticism, unfettered expression of your opinions in the Press, on the platform, and in the Councils, provided you avoid quarrelling with the very basis of the Government and resorting to violent methods. It is for the Indians not to quarrel with existing arrangements in a spirit of capriciousness but to understand to the full and to make as thorough a use as possible of all the opportunities available in the country under the British régime. The development of these opportunities will depend to a large extent upon the temperate and responsible use we make of them. We have to create traditions of constitutional government; we have to create traditions of a responsible use of all the liberty we get under the existing arrangements. The English public, the English Parliament, the English Liberal and Labour party, even the English Conservative party will not tolerate too much of "strong" rule in India. The criticism in England makes the officer in India always a little cautious and timid. Clive was called to question; Hastings was impeached; and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Bengal and Assam had to resign. It is for us to create an impression both in India and England, that the public in India is becoming daily more and more conscious of its rights without ceasing to be conscious of its responsibilities, that the

politician in India is not a negativist, not an irreconcilable, not a mischievous agitator who has to be crushed in imperial interests, but a shrewd, practical, intelligent, well-trained, sober, public man who deeply appreciates and makes a full use of all the latent and actual good there is in the British Government and its institutions in India, but who is fully alive to the anomalies of the Rule and who, therefore, never misses an opportunity of exhaustively studying and impartially criticising not only the details of administration but often the whole trend of the Government policy and tries to bring this point of view of well-informed and sober public opinion, again and again in all possible ways, both before the Indian and the British public as well as the official world.

The Indian Liberals radically disagreed with the British imperial policy of neglecting and even thwarting the best economic interests of India. Here they never minced matters. Their criticisms of the whole tone and tendency of the economic side of the British rule have become classical in Indian economic and political literature. The ground for the dramatic successes won by the Swadeshi and Boycott movements of 1905 was prepared by the Indian Liberals. Ranade and Gokhale and Telang would be always remembered as the founders of the school of Indian Economic Nationalism for all time.

John S. Hoyland thus beautifully sums up the spirit and achievements of Gokhale and his school. "In regard to his relations with the Government, Gokhale stood first for a careful and thorough use of all the constitutional machinery already available for bringing Indian opinion to bear upon Government policy. In the second place, he kept a vigilant eye upon administrative detail, and was insistent upon the necessity of reform and redress, whether in a general financial policy or any matter of official high-handedness. The immense pains which he took in working up his

facts and figures and in substantiating his position in every possible way, especially with regard to his great Budget speeches made him far more than a mere leader of opposition in the Legislature. Though he never held any responsible office as a legislator, he was known to be a genuine constructive statesman whose criticisms were to be welcomed in the same spirit in which they were offered, as an honest attempt to help the Government to discharge the obligations to India in the right manner.

✓ "Like Cavour, Gokhale had the same political purpose and ideal—the same determination to use whatever he had in his hands to the fullest advantage, in order to gain more. He was 'master of the possible,' setting before himself limited objectives, using existing machinery, however defective, for the attainment of those objectives; and when they were attained, going forward one step more, to some other limited and practical objective. He achieved immense successes by his practical policy of using existing resources to the utmost for limited ends. He was inherently a constitutionalist,—the man who perceived that revolutionary methods, even if they succeed for a time in realising the popular will, have as their inevitable ultimate result a reaction which may carry things backward almost as far as the first starting point. In consequence, he was an anathema to the hot-heads of his country.

"Gokhale has never come to his own. His countrymen regard him as a faint-hearted Moderate, who was willing to take what he could get and to use the weapons which were put into his hands by his opponents. But for years he stood forth in the eyes both of the Indian Government and the British democracy as *the* representative Indian. In his person it was proved possible that India should take the gift of democratic institutions in Government, and use that gift wisely and sanely for the building up of a sound national life.

“For the uniqueness of Gokhale lay largely in this: that he did not merely criticise and abuse the Government, and leave it at that, as so many of his Indian opponents were and are still inclined to do. He saw the shortcomings of the system as clearly as any one. *But he was always constructive.* He always had a better method to suggest in individual cases of mal-administration; and in regard to broad, general principles, he knew exactly what the next step ought to be, and where the deficiencies of things as they were, called most urgently for practical redress.

“So much was this so, that Gokhale, in fact, became the leader of the best elements in Government policy. His moral stature was so commanding, his personal ascendancy became so marked, that men of enlightenment and good-will who found themselves responsible for directing the destinies of the Indian people, were glad to accept his guidance wherever they could. Thus it came about that his advice had such a far-reaching effect in regard to the Minto-Morley reforms, that his crusade on behalf of indentured labour succeeded in wiping out that shameful survival of the epoch of slavery; that his recommendations in the great Budget speeches had year after year decisive effect in shaping the final policy of the Government, that his unceasing advocacy of the Indianisation of Services eventually bore definite fruit; that after his death much of what he had striven for was achieved in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms; and that in a great number of other particulars his practical idealism was justified by the formation of enlightened policies and definite measures of reform. It is true that some of his battles are not yet won, notably those in regard to free and universal education, to expenditure on the army, and to the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Nor is the self-determination of India, of which he dreamed, yet a reality. But in relation to these causes, he initiated a movement which quite evidently can never cease till his ends are attained.....

“ The problems of the contact between East and West have never been more urgent than they are to-day. From the beginning, there have been two streams of thought and activity in evidence on both sides of the world problem. In the West, there has been the spirit of exploitation, of conquest, of dominance, which has shown itself either in isolated acts of frightfulness, or in settled systems. On the other hand, there has been the spirit of brotherhood, expressing itself through the sense of national responsibility, evinced in the trial of Warren Hastings, in the later revisions of the Charter of the East India Company, and in the Royal Declaration of 1858.

“ Correspondingly there has been a double spirit in evidence in the East. The Western spirit of dominance and exploitation has led to the creation of a spirit of intransigence, of extremism, of determination to take nothing by way of favour but to boycott and to non-co-operation. On the other hand, the better spirit of the West has found an echo in such men as Gokhale, who are willing to take all that is given, and to use it strenuously, and in constructive co-operation with the Western rulers in order that the highest good of the country may be attained.

“From this point of view, Gokhale is an emblem of the brightest hope for the future contact of East and West, and therefore, for the future of humanity. He stands for the fact that West and East – the best elements in either can come together in a spirit of good-will and can co-operate for the good of mankind. He shows that the great achievements of the West, liberal methods of government, can be best understood, grasped and used by the East, for the carrying through of a thousand measures of emancipation and enlightenment.....

“Finally, behind all Gokhale's activities, behind his deliberate sacrifice of his leisure, his health, and in the end

his life, for the sake of his country, behind his unswerving resolution to receive the best which the West has to offer and use it for the uplifting and emancipation of the East, lay a deep realisation of the meaning of our common humanity. This expressed itself in those appeals which he uttered from time to time, and always with such deep feeling, that England should remember her best self, and act generously and with sympathy by India. He had a profound confidence in the underlying kinship of humanity, both East and West, and in the fact that an appeal to the better nature, even of the governing power, would call forth a due response.

“This is indeed the last word which is to be said concerning the relations of England and India – that there should be sympathy and generosity, a willingness to trust, a belief in the healing and moderating influence of liberty. Gokhale stands, as above all, a Reconciler. He takes the best that there is in the West, to interpret it, and use it for the good of the East. He turns to the West, the spokesman of the longings and aspirations of the East, appealing above all for brotherhood. He was a constructive statesman of the first rank, an idealist, a prophet of a new era of international good-will and co-operation.”

3. *Mrs. ANNIE BESANT : AND HER NATIONALISM.*

Between the years 1910 and 1917, when the Extremist Party had temporarily broken down, and yet the spirit of extremism was more and more pervading the public mind, there stepped into the breach thus created, a very versatile, astute, and brilliant personality of Mrs. Annie Besant, who made herself an Indian political leader of the very front rank during those years.

As a leader of the Theosophical Movement, she was closely studying the psychology of the Indian people and

had already made a name for herself in India, especially among the Hindus. She started as a constructive educationalist and founded the Central Hindu College in Benares which subsequently developed into the Hindu University. She had her machinery of religious propaganda - the press, and a number of local organisations all over India and a body of local leaders ready, which she could convert at any moment into a machinery for political propaganda. She pleased the authorities by criticising the excesses of the Bengal Nationalists and created a favourable impression in the Government and pro-Government circles.

She thus wrote on the Swadeshi movement in 1906:—

“So much confusion exists in so many minds just now as to the real meaning and objects of Swadeshi movement, and so many attempts are being made to turn it to a temporary political purpose, that it is the duty of those who have been working in it for many years, and who realise its permanent value, to do their utmost to keep it on its proper lines and to preserve it for its proper purposes.....

“No country can escape severe poverty, if it has but one industry and that industry agriculture, and even the agriculture of a too narrow kind. Slowly and steadily, India has been losing the arts, crafts, and industries, which once enriched her people. Her handi-craftsmen, perfected by hundreds of generations, are being starved out, for lack of customers to buy their products. Driven out of their own crafts by lack of customers, the craftsmen have betaken themselves to the only possible industry open to them—agriculture. Already overcrowded, it becomes more overcrowded still. The balance of industries is disturbed, ryot and craftsman no longer support each other, and when a bad year comes, the impoverished ryot and the artisan turned into cultivators, are all engulfed in the yawning abyss of famine.

“For all this, Swadeshism is the only remedy; and hence we cannot afford to renounce it because some people are trying to use it for local instead of national, for political instead of economic purposes.”

Mrs. Besant had a very shrewd perception of the essential needs of the Indian situation. She first made a bold bid of social and religious leadership. She knew that nothing appeals more to the Indian mind than her past culture and glory and consequently she developed a scheme of National Education independently of politics. This was a fundamental difference between her scheme and the scheme of Bengali nationalists. She very wisely avoided all political interference and based her scheme on the moral and spiritual needs of India. “The needs of India,” she wrote in 1905, “are, among others, the development of a national spirit, an education founded on Indian ideals, and enriched, not dominated, by the thought and culture of the West.” Here was a real insight: and Mrs. Besant never lacked energy to convert an insight into a reality.

Mrs Besant, following Swami Vivekananda, perceived that the present system of education is a failure because it is dominated by everything foreign. “Nothing can more swiftly emasculate national life, nothing can more surely weaken national character, than allowing the education of the young to be controlled by foreign influences, to be dominated by foreign ideals. From 1896 onwards, I have ventured to urge on the Indian people that the education which was given to their sons was denationalising and despiritualising Foreign habits, foreign manners, foreign dress, foreign ways are all enforced in a foreign language with, in missionary schools, a foreign religion to boot, sterilizing the boy’s heart, and despiritualising his whole nature. Is it any wonder that the national spirit decayed?”

She then proceeds to lay down her ideal of a true system of national education:—

(1) It must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. It must hold up Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom, and morality, and must be permeated by the Indian religious spirit rather than fed on the letter of the creeds. That spirit is spacious, tolerant, all-embracing and recognises that man goes to God along many roads and that all the prophets came from Him.

(2) National education must live in an atmosphere of proud and glorious patriotism, and this atmosphere must be kept sweet, fresh, and bracing by the study of Indian literature, Indian history, Indian triumphs in science, in art, in politics, in war, in colonization, in manufactures, in trade, in commerce. The Arthashastra must be studied as well as the Dharmashastra, science and politics as well as religion.

(3) National education must not be separated from the homes of the nation. The ideals, the interests, the principles, the emotions of the one must be those of the other. For the nation is built out of families, and the present opposition between the home and the school must cease.

(4) National education must meet the national temperament at every point and develop the national character. India is not to become a lesser—nor even a greater—England, but to evolve into a mightier India. British ideals are good for Britain but it is India's ideals that are good for India. We do not want echoes nor monotonies; we want a choral melody of nations, mirroring the varied qualities of Nature and of God. Shall Nature show but a single colour, and trees and flowers, and mountains and sky wear but a single hue? Harmonious

variety and not monotony is the mark of perfection.

Away from all apologies for India, with all deprecatory explanations of India's ways and customs and traditions, India is herself and needs not to be justified; for verily God has evolved no greater, no more exquisite nationality than India's among all the broken reflections of His own perfect beauty.

Mrs. Besant here combines an extraordinary enthusiasm for India and her ideals, a strong sense of reality by making ample provision for the Western science and technology and by insisting that a wide-spread propaganda should be undertaken insisting on Indian princes, merchants, and employers of every kind, giving the preference in employment to the graduates of these national universities. But cautious as she was and fully alive to the dangers of the Indian situation, she insisted that students should not take part in politics. She wrote in 1905, "I hold that students should not be permitted to enter the arena of party politics while pursuing their studies. The excitement of party struggles indisposes the lads for steady application, and youth runs into wild excesses where mature men remain staid. Political struggles are for men, not for boys, and the hot blood of youth is not to be utilised by politicians to create public ferment and put pressure upon Government." An attitude like this served to remove all doubts and misapprehensions in the mind of the Government about the political sanity of Mrs. Besant in those days and enabled her to avoid certain rocks which proved the undoing of many a project of national education.

But Mrs. Annie Besant became bolder in course of time and cast aside all this conservatism in favour of a more radical national policy. She could not give a lead to the nation as long as she allowed herself to be domi-

nated by the cautious ideology of the Indian Liberals. She knew that she could not placate both the Government and the people: and she chose to cast her lot among the Indian nationalists. She wrote: "The boys should grow up, through their school and college life in an atmosphere of pure and passionate patriotism, full of pride in their country, full of aspiration for her service. The high spirit of the boys must be trained and disciplined but never broken, love and not fear must be the root of their obedience, and trust not terror must characterise their attitude to their teachers.

"The present generation of lads is splendid material but is mostly uncared for out of the class-hour, and unloved by their teachers in the Government and missionary schools; their budding patriotism is treated as sedition, their self-respect is insubordination, their high spirits as rebellion; their national heroes must be worshipped in secret and the national portraits which should hang in their class-rooms must be hidden away in their boxes. We have to train our boys for freedom, and the very qualities now repressed, are national assets, to be utilised, not eradicated. We need not fear their high spirits, their daring, their pride, their sensitive dignity, these are the jewels of a free Nation, though dreaded by the authorities over a subject people. Our boys must be as free in India, as English boys are in England."

Mrs. Besant felt that the revolutionary movement was not a school-boy affair which could be suppressed by a little repression. The Reforms of 1909 had done nothing to placate the politically serious Indian mind. She knew that the stern policy adopted by the Government would drive young boys to the camp of anarchy more and more or would convert them into slaves. Her demand for National Education was a reply to this policy of the Government. But she realised that unless the people were

given a bold and statesman-like lead for freedom, a lead which was not forthcoming from the Moderates—there would be no end to Indian unrest. The Extremist party had been temporarily broken: but the country required a lead on the lines of Extremist agitation. This conviction seized her in 1913, when she returned from England, and she started the Home Rule Movement in 1914.

Mrs. Besant was very keen on the imperial connection. To her the Empire stood for all that it stood for in the eyes of the Liberal leaders; she was further proud of it because she hailed from Great Britain; and above all, the Empire was to her “a larger instrument and symbol of the evolving universal brotherhood of man, which it was the dream of Theosophy to realise on earth.” She set herself out, therefore, with her characteristic shrewdness to bring back the faith of the Indian intelligentsia to the ideal of the Empire. But this could only be if the ideal of Nationality be reconciled with the Empire-ideal. This was the inner significance of the fight for Home Rule which she launched in 1914.

The sad experiences of the Indian Extremists had also taught them the need of Imperial connection. The Moderates were adopting now a bolder attitude and were reconciled to the ideal of Colonial self-government completely. Thus there was growing moderation among the Extremists and there was growing radicalism among the Moderates. The men’s minds were thus prepared for a great reconciliation and a forward movement in Indian politics. The government, too, showed considerable sympathy with the reasonable aspirations of the people, repealed the Partition of Bengal, and foretold the adoption of a new policy in Lord Hardinge’s Despatch of August, 1911. A new cry of “Equal Partnership or Co-partnership in the Empire”, began to supplant the old cry of “Colonial Self-Government”, allegiance to the British

connection was emphasised more than loyalty to British Rule.

Mrs. Besant pushed herself forward as the champion of this new cry of Nationalist Imperialism. She thus heralded the re-entry of the Extremist elements of the country into organised and constitutional politics with slight modifications in their creed and programme. She appeared in the Congress of 1914 and said, "India claims the right, as a nation, to justice among the peoples of the Empire...India is growing in the sense of her dignity. She is not content to be a child any longer in the nursery of the Empire. She is showing the responsibility of the man in Europe. Give her the freedom of the man in India."

During 1914-1916, her Home Rule League continued its vigorous propaganda preparing the nation's mind for new ideals. Tilak too started a similar Home Rule League in the Maharashtra and joined forces with Mrs. Besant. The country was thus roused once more by the inspiring cry of Home Rule under the able leadership of Mrs. Besant and Tilak.

In 1916, Mrs. Besant said at the Lucknow Congress, "England at her peril calls on Indian soldiers to fight the liberty of Belgium and the sacredness of treaties, and then sends those soldiers back home to find their people still in bondage and treaties disregarded, torn in pieces, and thrown aside...There is only one thing which makes a nation fit for freedom, and that is the heart to aspire after it, and the will which is determined to have it."

Her internment threw a halo of martyrdom round her; and in 1917 she had the honour to preside over the Indian National Congress. Her presidentship marked the signal for the end of the dominance of the Liberal

party in the country. She trenchantly exposed the contradictions of the Imperialist's logic in her Presidential speech. The Imperialist was praying for victory over autocracy in Europe but wanted to maintain it in India. India was forced to see a future of perpetual subordination before her. "The Briton rules in Great Britain, the Frenchman in France, the American in America, each dominion in its own area; alone among the peoples of the world, he was not to feel his own country as his own. 'Britain for the British' was right and natural, 'India for the Indians' was wrong, was seditious. It must be 'India for the Empire' or not even for the Empire but, 'for the rest of the Empire,' careless of herself. 'British support for British trade' was patriotic and proper in Britain. 'Swadeshi goods for Indians' showed a petty and anti-Imperialist spirit in India. The Indian was to live perpetually, and even thankfully, as Gopal Krishna Gokhale said, he lived now, in 'an atmosphere of inferiority,' and to be proud to be citizen (without rights) of the Empire, while its other component nations were to be citizens (with rights) in their own countries first, and citizens of the Empire secondarily."

She then turns to the Indians and makes an eloquent appeal for a new patriotism :

"To see India free, to see her hold up her head among the Nations, to see her sons and daughters respected everywhere, to see her worthy of her mighty past, engaged in building a yet mightier future, is not this worth working for, worth suffering for, worth living and worth dying for? Is there any other land which evokes such love for her spirituality, such admiration for her literature, such homage for her valour, as this glorious Mother of Nations, from whose womb went forth the races that now, in Europe and America,

are leading the world? And has any land suffered as our India has suffered, since her sword was broken on Kurukshetra, and the peoples of Europe and Asia swept across her borders, laid waste her cities, and discrowned her kings. They came to conquer, but they remained to be absorbed. At last, out of those mingled peoples, the Divine Artificer has welded a Nation, compact not only of her own virtues, but also of those her foes had brought to her, and gradually dominating the vices which they had also brought.

“After a history of millennia, stretching far back out of the ken of mortal eyes, having lived with, but not died with, the mighty civilisations of the past, having seen them, rise and flourish and decay, until only their sepulchres remained, deep buried in earth’s crust; having wrought, and triumphed, and suffered, and having survived all changes unbroken, India, who has been verily the Crucified among the Nations, now stands on this her Resurrection morning, the Immortal, the Glorious, the Ever-young, and India shall soon be seen, proud and self-reliant, strong and free, the radiant splendour of Asia, as the Light and Benediction of the world!”

4. *BENGAL NATIONALISM: A. GHOSH.*

Indian nationalism is bound to be a composite product, made up of various small nationalisms dominating in different provinces and communities. Among these sub-nationalities, the Bengalees are as prominent as the Mahārāshtrians. The Mahārāshtrians have contributed intellectual clarity, and strong practical sense, a certain patriotic consciousness of the past, and above all, a resolute determination and a tradition of self-sacrifice. These qualities have been supplanted in Bengal by the keen logical acumen, the most fervid emotionalism, a deep mystical, religious, artis-

tic and metaphysical vein, and a vivid realisation of Ancient Hindu Culture in all its varied manifestations. "In Bengal, the movements of the modern thought have been marked by an uncompromising rationalism on the one hand, and the superb idealism that goes with exuberant emotionalism on the other hand. In both his social and religious reform movements, the Bengalee has applied with relentless logic the root canons of modern rationalism. But he has done so not in the spirit of modern materialist whose ethical values are always utilitarian, but in that of the idealist, who sees beyond the senses, and yearns always for the unattainable. (Ecstatic outbursts more than contemplative quietude in religious life; impulsive daring rather than calculated courage in affairs; these are the special characteristics of the Bengalee people.)

The Bengal nationalism in its very characteristic form swept the whole province in 1905, as a result of the Curzonian autocracy. It soon connected itself with the Neo-Vedantic movement of Swami Vivekananda on the one hand and the revival of popular Hinduism which was also, to some extent, associated with the same school. Hence the attempt on the part of the Bengalee nationalists to base the movement for Swaraj on the ancient Upanishadic ideal of the search for the metaphysical Absolute in one's own innermost self. Hence the worship of the (Mother-the country) symbolised as the Goddess Kali, or Durgā or Jāgaddhātri. (This was a very clever attempt to connect the Hindu reverence for their gods and goddesses with the demands of the new patriotism.) The old idol-worship thus assumed a new form.

All this makes Bengalee nationalism very peculiar. Its subtle metaphysical appeal is here combined with a popular religious worship and both the metaphysical and the religious impulses of the orthodox Hindu mind are utilised in the new cult of Swaraj and the mother worship. The Hindu mind refuses to be moved till its ancient instincts

are touched; and the most remarkable characteristic of Bengal patriotism, which gave it such a tremendous power over the soul of the Bengalees, was this subtle 'transference' of the religious and metaphysical impulse from Kali and the Absolute to the country. The country thus becomes the "Self of Selves," "the Innermost Essence," "the God within us," "the Eternal, Timeless Absolute." This is the new metaphysics of patriotism. Those who are worshippers of the popular goddess-Kali-are called upon to worship the country as Kali, as the Mother. Patriotism thus becomes identical with religion in its literalness as understood and practised by the average Bengalee Hindu; and with the creed of the Absolute, as understood by the philosophic Hindu.

B. C. Pal thus explains the transformation of Hinduism in Bengal. "The process started really with Bankim Chandra, who interpreted the most popular of the Hindu goddesses as symbolic of the different stages of national evolution. Jagatdhatri-riding a lion, which has the prostrate body of an elephant under its paw represented the mother-land in the early jungle-clearing stage. This is, says Bankim Chandra, the mother as she was, *Kali*, the grim goddess, dark and naked, bearing a garland of human heads around her neck-heads from which blood is dripping-and dancing on the prostrate form of Shiva the God-this, says Bankim Chandra, is the mother as she is, dark, because ignorant of herself, the heads with dripping blood are those of her own children, destroyed by famine and pestilence, the jackals licking their drippings are the symbol of desolation and decadence of social life, and the prostrate form of Shiva means that she is trampling her own God under her feet. *Durga*, the ten-headed goddess, armed with swords and spears in some hands, holding wheat-sheaves, with some, offering courage and peace with others, riding a lion, fighting with demons, with Saraswati or the Goddess of Knowledge and Arts, supported by Ganapati, the God

of Wisdom, on her one side, and Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth, protected by Kartikeya, the leader of the heavenly army, on the other side, - this, says Bankim Chandra, is the mother as she will be. This interpretation of the old images of gods and goddesses has imparted a new meaning to the current ceremonialism of the country and multitudes, while worshipping either *Jagatdhatri*, or *Kali*, or *Durga* accost them with devotion and enthusiasm with the inspiring cry of *Bande Mataram*. All these are the popular objects of worship of the Indian Hindus, especially in Bengal. And the transfiguration of these symbols is at once the cause and the evidence of the depth and the strength of the present movement. This wonderful transfiguration of the old gods and goddesses is carrying the message of new nationalism to the women and the masses of the country."

How subtle and how typical of the Hindu mind this attempt to convert patriotism into a religion and a religion into patriotism! The ordinary Bengalee Hindu can understand the worship of the Goddess Kali or Durga and is accustomed to it. He is now told that the country is this Mother - this Goddess Kali or Durga, and when you worship the one, you worship the other. (This is the boldest and most imaginative attempt to convert the religious-mindedness of Hindus into political-mindedness without its losing its old and sacrosanct character.) This is the meaning of the worship of the Mother, of the new national cry *Bande Mataram* (Hail Mother!) The whole process looks artificial to the Western mind which often interprets it as a deliberate exploitation of the religious sentiment of a gullible people by a few designing patriots. It is, however, nothing of the sort: if there is here delusion, the leaders themselves are as much victims of the delusion as the people themselves. But it is merely the typical way in which Hinduism always works. The Hindu pantheon is a broad and a living and a growing pantheon; the subtle religious genius of god-making is inherent in Hinduism at every stage of its progress. The

Hindu was never devoid of the sense of his country; only the country appealed to him as a sacred land, which gave him birth, protection, life and above all, his culture. His political independence, his economic independence may come and go; but his attachment to his ancient metaphysical and religious cult and the sacred land which has always been the home of that cult, constitutes the core of his being; and he will rather part with life than with that. A new view of life however now rises on the horizon making new claims upon him; but if he is to be deeply moved, if his whole soul is to be roused, the new wine will have to be put into old bottles; and the new philosophy of nationalism, economic and political, to be made a part of his old philosophy of nationalism-religious and cultural.

Thus behind the new nationalism in India stands the old Vedantism of the Hindus. "This ancient Indian philosophy, has one general idea running through it from end to end. It is the idea of the essential unity of man and God. According to this philosophy, substance is One, though expressed in many forms. Reality is One, though appearances are multitudinous. Matter, in the eye of this philosophy, is not material but essentially spiritual, the thought of God concretised. Man is the spirit of God incarnated. The meaning of cosmic evolution is to be found, not in itself, but in the thought of the Absolute...The end of human evolution is the fullest realisation of man's unity with God. Long, especially in what may be called the middle ages in India, this essential unity between God and man was sought to be realised through metaphysical abstractions, by negation of the social and civic life. There was an undue emphasis on the Subjective and the Universal to the neglect of the realities (however relative they might be) of the Objective and the Particular. Protests had, however, been made from time to time against these monkish abstractions, but in spite of these abstractions the dominant note continued to

be that of abstract Monism. Neo-Vedantism, which forms the very soul and essence of what may be called Neo-Hinduism, has been seeking to realise the old spiritual ideals of the race, not through monkish negations or medieval abstractions, but by the idealisation and the spiritualisation of the concrete contents and actual relations of Life. It demands, consequently, a social, an economic, and a political reconstruction, such as will be helpful to the highest spiritual life of every individual member of the community. The spiritual note of the present Nationalist movement is entirely derived from this Vedantic thought."

^{spiritual} ^{Ghosh V} The most typical representative of Bengal nationalism, in its most intense metaphysical and religious form, was Arabindo Ghosh. ✓ Nationalism with him is not a political or economic cry; it is the innermost hunger of his whole soul for the re-birth in him and through men like him, in the whole of India, of the ancient culture of the Hindusthan in its pristine purity and nobility. He was an intellectual thinker of the highest type, and an accomplished and versatile scholar; but ✓ his profound scholarship and his keen and penetrating logic were subordinated to the master passion of his soul, the mystic yearning to realise himself in his God, in his country. There was not much of the grosser touch of life left in him; the flame of his mind burned too fast for earthly purposes. "Blessed are they for whom the tragic antithesis between the ideal and the real has been cancelled, for whom to know Truth is to love it, to love Truth is to attain it; in whom the vision of the ideal by its own intrinsic strength at once attunes every craving of the flesh, every movement of the mind, every motion of the heart and every impulse of the will to itself. These are the chosen of God. These are the born leaders of men." Such was, in sober truth, Arabindo Ghosh. ✓

[The extraordinary fervour—the zeal of a new nationalism—came upon Arabindo Ghosh like a Divine frenzy.]

"What is nationalism?" he asked. "Nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is a religion that has come from God. Nationalism is a creed in which you shall have to live. Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism is immortal; nationalism cannot die." This nationalism is not a trick of the intellect; it is an attitude of the heart, of the soul; it springs from the deepest part of our nature which intellect can never fathom. What the intellect could not do, this mighty force of passionate conviction, born out of the very depths of the national consciousness, will be able to accomplish. "When the intellect ceased to work, the heart of Bengal was open and ready to receive the voice of God and she received it in a single moment, and in a single moment, the whole nation arose, the whole nation lifted itself out of delusions and out of despair, and it was from this sudden rising, by this sudden awakening from dream that Bengal found the way of salvation and declared to all India that eternal life, immortality and not lasting degradation, was her fate."

Nationalism thus rises to the intensity of the highest emotional fervour, the pitch of the highest religious devotion. It is a deep, poignant cry, wrung out of the unbearable agony of the Mother and reflected in the soul of the patriot. This nationalism was entirely different from the desire for fiscal autonomy and greater Indianisation - which made the substance of liberal nationalism. It is different even from the practical nationalism of Tilak who considered a foreigner a foreigner and an Indian an Indian and considered it perfectly natural that the Indian should oust the foreigner. The nationalism of the Moderates was more an economic programme than anything else. The nationalism of Tilak and Lajpat Rai was a political cry - an aspiration for the rule of India by the Indians. The nationalism of Arabinodo Ghosh was a burning religious emotion, the voice of God in man, the invincible demand on the part of the

great Indian spiritual culture for expression through the re-awakened soul to the world. The full meaning and force of this cry can never be perfectly intelligible, translatable into the language of common-sense and reason even to those who experience it. It is the unutterable shriek of the political mystic; it is the call of the Beloved; it has simply to be obeyed. The supreme regeneration which India demands can only come from this supreme call of the Motherland—so deep, so religious, so passionate that it carries all before it.

In the name of this perfect love for a perfect country, 'the ideal India of the poet's and the patriot's imagination', this political mystic or Yogi calls upon the children of the Bharat Mata to suffer all, to endure all, and to fear none. Be rich by all means, rich not for yourselves but that you may enrich the Mother with your riches. Be great by all means, great not for your sake, that you may satisfy your vanity, but great for her, to make India great, to enable her to stand up with head erect among the nations of the earth, as she did in days of yore when the world looked up to her for light. Study, but study for her sake, train your body and mind and will for her service. Suffer that she may rejoice; seek imprisonment that she may be free; die, if necessary, in order that she may live. "

This was the Bengalee nationalism's answer to the cold-blooded and calculating patriotism of the Moderates. The ideal of fiscal autonomy is the ideal of material prosperity, and the ideal of material prosperity is absolutely unworthy of the soul of India. "Industrial progress and material development do not bring life to the nation. At a touch from outside, the nations merely developing materially crumble to pieces." The reasoning of the Liberals was correct, if we accept their premises. If you do not rely upon God, if you do not rely upon something mightier than material strength, then you will have to depend solely upon

what others can give. The ideal of fiscal autonomy, even the ideal of the substitution of Indian for foreign agency can inspire only a few; it cannot work wonders which is expected of the patriotic spirit in India to-day; it cannot make millions of Indians face misery, starvation, even death, with a perfectly cheerful and indomitable spirit. Hence the fear of foreign countries. Hence the fear of internal indiscipline and anarchy. Hence the reliance, absolute and complete, upon foreign protection. Hence the impossibility of escape from the present miserable plight on the basis of the calculations of the Moderates. The country required a new psychology; the re-birth of Indian culture can only come from the re-birth of Indian soul. "If you are a nationalist in the European sense, in a purely materialistic sense, if you want to replace the dominion of the foreigner by the dominion of somebody else, it is a purely material change; it is not religion. What you want is not freedom for your country, but you want to replace the rule of others by yours. If you go in that spirit what will happen when the hour of trial comes? What will your intellect say to you? It will tell you. 'It is very well to work for the country, but in the meantime I am going to die, or at least to be given a great deal of trouble, and when the fruit is reaped, I shall not be there to enjoy it. How can I bear all this suffering for a dream?' If you have not divine strength of faith and unselfishness, you will not be able to escape from other attachments, you will not like to bear afflictions, simply for the sake of a change by which you will not profit. How can courage come from such a source?

"But when you have a higher idea, when you have realised that you have nothing, that you are nothing, and that three hundred millions of people of this country are God in the nation, something which cannot be measured by so much land, or by so much money, or by so many lives, you will then realise that it is something immortal and that it

is an immortal power that is working within you. All other attachments are nothing. Every other consideration disappears from your mind. You are led on by that Power. You are protected through life and death by one who survives in the very hour of death; you feel your immortality in the hour of your worst sufferings; you feel you are invincible."

Such is the message of the new nationalism of Bengal voiced by Arabindo Ghosh and B. C. Pal. But the very causes which made for its greatness also made for its weakness and temporary disappearance. Their ideal was a sublime ideal; the ideal of the re-birth of the ancient Hindu Culture in the original grandeur and purity. The India for which they fought and suffered was the India of their historic Aryan imagination; the India of the Rishis; the India of the Ramayana and Mahabharata; the India, beautiful, great, virile, practical, philosophical, of the Vedas and the Upanishads. James H. Cousins thus describes the ideal India of a cultured Hindu patriot; "Yet, the India of the Indians is no more the real India than a house is its occupants...the real India hovers over India's heads, it is the totality of all that lives in the region of the imagination. It lives through Indian minds and bodies on Indian soil but it is greater far than they; it includes them as the soul includes the senses; but it is not included in any or all of them, as the soul cannot be included in any or all of the senses. India has remained India, knit into invisible unity by the spiritual imagination that sets its centres of reverence all over the peninsula, and wove between them an amazing network of saintly tradition, of poetical aspiration, of artistic achievement, of ethical wisdom, of interior illumination."

This ideal of Bengal nationalism is certainly a great ideal; it animates and inspires the best minds of the country especially in their inspired moments. But this

ideal, in order to be powerful and effective, should take possession of the minds of the masses and the masses in India are not only Hindus but also Mahommedans, not only high class Hindus but humbler Hindus as well. Arabindo Ghosh's ideal if it touches the imagination of these Indians, they will cease to be masses, they will cease to be Hindus or Muslims in a narrow sectarian sense, they will be inspired instruments of Allah, destined to do His inspired work. That time is not yet. In the meantime the metaphysical subtlety of the ideal will keep it outside the brains of the masses; and the Hindu terms into which it is put will continue to make it ununderstandable if not repellent to the Muslim. The strong Hindu character of both the Maharashtrian and the Bengal nationalism gave a great impetus to the revival of Hindu life: but it at the same time intensified the gulf between the Hindus and the Mahommedans considerably. The Mahommedan would not care to be back in the India of the Vedas; he would equally insist that the new Raj should be Muslim Raj rather than Hindu raj, and if the Muslim Raj is not possible, the present British Raj is preferable to the Hindu Raj of Tilak and Pal. There is no doubt that the Hindu nationalism gave rise to a powerful movement of Muslim nationalism during these troublesome years. This explains better the rise or growth of what is known as Muslim Communalism than the mere desire on the part of the Muslims to consolidate their political position at the expense of the Hindus or the desire of the British Government to divide one community against another.

The ideal of Bengali nationalism brought it into conflict not only with the Muslims but also with the British; and it is no wonder if these two combined to put down the Bengal extremism. The political ideal of an independent India again is bound to appeal tremendously to the

imagination of the young emotional mind of the people. It fires the people whom the Liberal fight for more political crumbs leaves quite cold. It gives them a courage and an inspiration which nothing else can give. It raises political discussion at once from the humdrum level of diplomacy and cant to something more realistic. The conflict provokes conflict; and life generates life. The identity, the individuality of a nation becomes more and more a positive fact, the more the nation is drawn into a struggle with the foreign power. This fight between the people and the Government did two services to the nation. ✓ In the first place, it quickened the self-consciousness of the people as nothing else could have done. The Government while it functions in the usual way, maintaining law and order, administering justice, offering jobs, dispensing favours, does not strike us as a foreign government. But when the governmental authority is driven to order arrests and persecutions, to pass repressive legislation, to stop meetings, to gag the press, to deport the popular leaders, its whole character is at once changed in the eyes of the people, and the people can then be easily taught that this is its essential nature as a foreign government. "The first step in the cultivation of self-consciousness is to repudiate the identity of the self with whatever stands outside itself. 'Neti, neti,' not this, not this,—which means the negation of all outer relations of the self this is the old, old formula of our Vedanta self-realisation, in the first stage of Sadhana. The new Nationalist thought-leaders followed this formula in their attempts to awaken the self-consciousness of their people. This is the real reason why the emphasis of all their teachings in those days was more upon the ideal of isolated sovereign independence than upon Federal Autonomy."

Secondly, the Nationalists of the new school brought ✓ an amount of realism into all political discussions. The

Moderates never spared the Government in details; but the Extremists went to fundamentals.⁵ This again gave a certain advantage to the Extremists. People love sincerity; and a new note of sincerity was now struck in Indian politics. The foreign Government is now called foreign; and it was declared that there was a fundamental conflict of both political and economic interests between India and Great Britain. "They proclaimed that politics was universally a game of national self-aggrandisement; and the biological law of struggle for existence had its counterpart in politics where the struggle was between rival nations or states for the appropriation of the largest and best means of national subsistence and national advancement – a struggle in which no nation feels any scruple to crush other nations, if it suits its national ends. There was, therefore, no room for generosity in political life or relations, any more than there is in biological relations or evolution. Nations became generous when generosity seems to pay, and when it is calculated to serve their own national ends, and not merely those of any other nations." Individual self-sacrifice is inspired by devotion to a community, but nations have not yet become conscious of an entity higher than themselves. The concept of Humanity is still a mere abstraction in the higher European thought and life. The distinction between the white and not-white races is too clearly marked in the eyes of the Western peoples. As long as therefore, Europe has not discovered any higher synthesis, international relations must lead to conflicts, and the gain of one nation would often mean the loss of another. The new nationalism was fully alive to the actualities of the British rule in India, and made the country conscious of the inevitable conflict of interests between the people and their government.

But this conflict while it led to a keener sense of the

actual facts and their sinister implications, among the people, and to a certain strong anti-British and therefore national feeling in the country, it inevitably roused the antagonism of the British people and brought about a further change in the official methods. The Government was thus driven to adopt both force and cunning, to weaken, divide, and destroy anti-Government forces in the country. The Extremism had not been able to develop a solid organisation to fight the Government forces; and it fell an easy victim into the hands of the authorities. Mrs. Besant declared : " A band of patriots is not a mob, blown hither and thither, but a body of men moving towards a common end, and that is wanted in India more than anything else. There is no cohesion, because there is no discipline, no training in the following of a chosen leader, and the subordination of an individual's wish."

There was a third service which this movement rendered to India; but it too was fraught with the same danger as the above two characteristics of the movement. The movement for the first time brought a practical note into the country's politics; it tried to base itself upon the feelings of the masses and it tried to direct these activities of the masses into concrete channels. Patriotism thus ceased to be the monopoly of a few intellectual men in the country and became a mass sentiment. Secondly, it ceased to be a mere verbal blatant sort of thing, useful merely for platform or press; but assumed a practical shape in the Swadeshi and boycott movements and in the efforts, however crude, to organise national life on national foundations. But the boycott movement inevitably roused feelings of hatred; and the necessary brakes which would keep the movement on the right tracks were lacking.

Here was a manifeststion of weakness which eventually and finally brought about the disappearance of the nationalist party for some time altogether. The new

leaders were much wiser than we might imagine them to be. But they were playing with fire; they were for the first time in the country arousing the passions of the masses and they were trying to direct the storm of national fury against the official world, and against the British people. It was a very dangerous game; and at any moment the passions of the mob might get the upper hand and sweep them off their feet. Then there was the danger of rousing the anti-British feeling of the easily excitable youth to a point where it might find vent only in acts of violence. This was what actually happened. The new psychology of hatred generated by these nationalist teachings operating upon the raw mind of susceptible youth, subjected to some amount of official persecution, could only end in a sort of violent movement. Then the line between the violent tendency and the constructive tendency of the movement is difficult to draw; and the Government comes in and makes short work of not only revolutionary young men who are led to violence and terrorism; but also the leaders whose teachings prepared the ground for the revolutionary movement.

here is, - ...

The leaders of the new school were certainly not advocates of violent methods. They stood for resistance; but not active resistance to the authorities. They did not mean to be aggressive; but their faith in peaceful methods was a conditional not a categorical faith. 'As long as the laws of this Government respect our primary rights of life, or person, property and other similar rights, so long we propose to keep ourselves within the bounds of law; and passive resistance means resistance offered by a people from within the limits of such law.' The utterances of the leaders were ambiguous, capable of either interpretation. They wanted to fight a political battle by political methods; and in politics expediency is the rule and whatever tends to serve our purposes appears justifiable. 'Politics, sir,

is a game of chess. It is a game of chess in international politics. It is a game of chess in national politics also; and what a fool is he who sitting down to play a game of chess with a powerful and acute and far-sighted opponent, can foresee and foretell every move that he makes without knowing the move of the other party. Our move shall be determined by their move; just as their move will be, so must our move be; and as we do not know what their move will be to-morrow, we cannot say what our move may be to-morrow."

They further knew the weakness of the country and felt that any physical opposition to the organised force of the Government will be futile. They were "opposed to violence and lawlessness, not out of any lying regard for British susceptibilities, but because of the fact, that circumstanced as the people of the country are at present, such methods would be suicidal to the very cause in the service of which they may be employed. The foreign despotism that holds political sway over us now is strong – if not absolutely invincible in arms; the people are disarmed. It is organised at all times; we are a disorganised nation. It is immensely rich; we are inconceivably poor."

History may not afford any example of such a peaceful victory; but history is not all over; and we will have to make our own history. Whatever has never happened in the history of the world may happen in the history of India.

The nationalists realised that the essence of the struggle lay in the peaceful evolution of the nation's own strength by the nation's own efforts. This was a capital idea, destined to become a permanent part of national creed. The Gandhian ideas were to a great extent anticipated; and it was clearly suggested that the movement,

to be effectual, must be kept on the broad lines of justice and humanity. "In carrying out a programme of passive resistance, it should be our endeavour always to keep ourselves in the right, and to place those who may be opposed to us at every step in the wrong. That is a thing which will always have to be borne in mind, and it is this characteristic of the movement in Bengal that has thrown into consternation the councils of the mighty. All through our campaign of passive resistance in Bengal it has been our earliest endeavour to keep ourselves within the limits of law, and by this self-restraint, by this very regard in our determination to oppose the despotic will of the present Government, by this very regard for the laws of that Government, we have to a very large extent, made them powerless. I do not ask you to sacrifice under any condition your national self-respect. But I do ask you to cultivate strength, determination, fixity of purpose, and when you have strength, cultivate self-respect. There is no self-restraint unless there be strength. The self-restraint of the weak is an unreal something. It is no self-restraint. It is cowardice, pure and simple. It is selfishness. We must cultivate strength and when we are strong, we must apply the brake to our strength. Keep it within the bounds of law, of decorum, of ordinary humanity, because remember this, that patriotism is good, excellent, divine, only when it furthers the ends of universal humanity. Nationality divorced from humanity is a source of weakness and evil, and not of strength and good."

This is an excellent exposition of the highest type of nationalism, to which no objection can be taken. It is literally the creed of Gandhi. But the conditional non-violence and certain ambiguity about phrases, and the attitude of paying the Government in its own coin, all these served to create a different atmosphere from which sprang another party, which cast aside all those restraints and

openly took to violence. The result was the end of the Extremist party for a few years.

The new nationalism thus took four bold, radical steps forward; but in each of these forward moves, there lurked a serious danger which eventually was to destroy the movement. The first characteristic of the new nationalism was that it linked the present movement with the great historic past of India and placed before the country a great ideal of the cultural re-assertion of the soul of India. This set the Hindu orthodox imagination on fire and brought the orthodox religious-minded Hindu into the very centre of the movement. But as this idea could not be developed consistently with the Muslim ambitions, the movement tended to become a Hindu movement, confined to the intellectual aristocracy, which alone could appreciate the grandeur of India's great ideals in the past. The second characteristic of the movement was its intensely realistic character. It defined sharply the conflicting interests and demands of Indian nationalism and British Imperialism and flatly denied all possibility of their reconciliation. This reaction against the foreign rule and the demand for independence created a virile tradition of patriotism as yet not much in evidence in India. But it made an open enemy of the British people and practically declared war without any preparation whatever. The third characteristic of the movement was even more remarkable; it developed for the first time the character of a mass-movement. The Moderates were ridiculed as a "microscopic minority," not representing the masses; the Extremists, therefore, realised that in all fights, diplomacy becomes effective only when it is backed by force; and this force in India can only be the force of popular opinion. This made the movement entirely different from the old Congress movement; it set ablaze the political consciousness of the man in the street. But the man in the street has passion as his stronger point and not reason; and if you

build on passions, you may score some successes, but these cannot last long. The fourth characteristic of the movement was that it meant not words but deeds; it meant action; it meant self-sacrifice; it meant effective expression and organisation. This practical note of the movement was its strongest point. But here there was the danger of conflict with authorities and with the reactionary forces in the Indian society, and the result may be the development of violence which would mean eventually the ruin of the movement.

The leaders later on saw all these tendencies more clearly in the light of experience and they considerably revised their politics not merely as a matter of expediency but also to some extent as a matter of conviction. The Extremists were soon reconciled to the ideal of imperial connection and saw the hope of India in the eventual development of National Autonomy in a British Imperial Federation or Commonwealth of Nations. Extremism as a tone, a tendency survives all political vicissitudes and reappears again and again in different forms.

A. Ghosh disappears from Indian politics; but his views given to a correspondent of the *Hindu*, after the Congress of 1914, deserve our full attention as the chastened views of this great leader.

“The old petty forms and little narrow make-believe activities are getting out of date. The world is changing rapidly around us and preparing for more colossal changes in the future. We must rise to the greatness of thought and action which it will demand upon the nations who hope to live.....

“We are a nation of three hundred millions, inhabiting a great country in which many civilisations have met, full of rich material and unused capacities. We must cease to think and act like the inhabitants of an obscure and, petty village.

“Only by a general intellectual and spiritual awakening can this nation fulfil its destiny. Our limited information, our second-hand intellectual activities, our bounded interests, our narrow life of little family aims and small money-getting have prevented us from entering into the broad life of the world. No nation in modern times can grow great by politics alone. A rich and varied life, energetic in all its parts, is the condition of a sound, vigorous national existence.

“This realisation of our nationhood, separate from the rest of humanity, was the governing idea of our activities from 1905 to 1910. That movement has served its purpose. It has laid a good foundation for the future. Whatever excesses and errors of speech and action were then disclosed came because our energy, though admirably inspired, lacked practical experience and knowledge.

“The idea of nationhood is now not only rooted in the public mind...but accepted in Europe and acknowledged by the Government and the governing race. The new idea that should now lead us is the realisation of our nationhood not separate from, but in the future scheme of, humanity. When it has realised its own national life and unity, India will still have a part to play in helping to bring about the unity of the nations.....

“It is...necessary that we Indians should think seriously what part Indian thought, Indian intellect, Indian nationhood, Indian spirituality, Indian culture have to fulfil in the general life of humanity. The humanity is bound to grow increasingly on. We must necessarily be in it and of it. Not a spirit of aloofness, or of jealous self-defence, but of generous emulation and brotherhood with all men and all nations, justified by a sense of conscious strength, a great destiny, a large place in the human future—this should be the Indian spirit.

"I am convinced, and have long been convinced, that a spiritual awakening, a re-awakening to the true self of a nation is the most important condition of our national greatness. The supreme Indian idea of the Oneness of all men in God, and the realisation inwardly and outwardly, increasingly even in social relations and the structure of society, is destined, I believe, to govern the progress of the human race. India, if it chooses, can guide the world...

"We shall have, of course, to enlarge our family and social life, not in the petty spirit of present-day Social Reform, hammering at small details and belittling our immediate past, but with a larger idea and more generous impulses. Our past with all its faults and defects should be sacred to us. But the claims of our future with its immediate possibilities should be still more sacred.

"It is more important that the thought of India should come out of the philosophical school and renew its contact with life, and the spiritual life of India issue out of the cave and the temple, and adapting itself to the new forms, lay its hand upon the world. I believe also that humanity is about to enlarge its scope by new knowledge, new powers and capacities, which will create as great a revolution in human life as the physical science of the nineteenth century. Here, too, India holds in her past, a little rusted and put out of use, the key of humanity's future."

5. *HARDAYALISM.*

Har Dayal had a brilliant career in the Punjab University where he took his M. A. in 1903. He then went to Oxford as a Government of India scholar, but later on resigned the scholarship and returned to India a different man. His mind had revolted then against everything English and took to pure Indian dress even in England. In India he wanted

to establish an order of Hindu ascetics to carry on his propaganda of a wholesale and complete boycott of everything British. But he had to leave India in order to avoid arrest. His political nationalism has remained constant, but his other views have changed.

Lajpat Rai is the only authority we have about his creed; we shall reproduce his account of Hardayalism:—

“Har Dayal is an advocate of open rebellion; he does not advocate the use of the bomb or the revolver for killing individuals but he admires and glorifies those who have risked their lives, using the same.

“Neither of these classes is prepared to make any compromise with the British. They stand for absolute independence, full Swaraj. They know, perhaps, that they have a very difficult task before them, but they have confidence in themselves and believe that the difficulties are not insuperable. They do not believe that in order to gain Swaraj India should have more wide-spread education, or that social reform and social consolidation must precede political freedom. They consider that these are all fads, ideas with which the British have inoculated the Indians in order to keep them busy with non-political activities and to keep down their manhood. It is a part of the imperial game that the rulers should manage to fill the ruled with the idea of their own incompetence to manage their affairs, of their inability to unite, of many differences and divisions among them, and of their incapacity to win their freedom. These Nationalists deprecate communal or sectional activities. They do not countenance the organisations engaged in religious and social reform. In their opinion all these so-called reform organisations are doing positive mischief in keeping the nation engaged in less important matters and in directing the nation's mind from the all-important question of national freedom. They

want to concentrate the nation's mind on this point.

“Political freedom is the first condition of life. According to them life in political bondage or in political subjection is a negation of life. Life signifies power and capacity to grow and progress. A slave, a bondsman is not free to grow. His interests are always subordinate to those of his master. He must give the best in him to the service of the latter. His will must always be under his master's will, who is practically his conscience's keeper. No man can grow to the full stature of his manhood, no man can rise to the best in him, no man can make the best use of his faculties and opportunities, no man can develop either his body or his soul according to his liking, under these circumstances. Whatever he does, he does for his master, in his name and in his interest. The credit and the glory, and the benefit of it, all accrue to him. If this is true of an individual's life, it is equally true of a nation in political bondage.

“As a proof of their statements, they point to history and the activities of the Indian National Congress. The Congress people ask for Universal Primary Education. The Government says no. They cannot find money for it; ‘the country is not prepared for it; nor is it good for the people at large.’ If the masses are educated, they might become discontented and create trouble for the Government. The Congress wants a repeal of the Arms Act; the Government says no. The people might use the arms against the Government, and that is a calamity to be avoided. The Congress desires that Indians be enrolled as volunteers; the Government says no. It is not desirable to have companies of volunteers composed of Indians only, as they might conspire against the reigning power. It is equally undesirable to force them on European and Eurasian Companies against their wishes, as that would wound their social and imperial susceptibilities. The Congress politician wants to protect

Indian industries; the Government says no. That will injure Lancashire. The Congress wants more of technical education; the Government says that the country does not need it; and they cannot spare funds for it. The Congress wants national schools and national universities; the Government says 'no, you may misuse them.' The keynote of the situation is that India must exist in the interests of England and the Englishmen; or at any rate England and English politicians know what is good and useful for India, how much she should and how much she should not have, in what line she should advance, and in what she should not. India and Indians have no right to think for themselves. Anything they think or decide to do must be tested by Englishmen according to their standards and in the way they think it is likely to further the interests of their empire.

" These nationalists, therefore, maintain that the first condition of life, life with respect and honour, life for profit and advantage, life for progress and advancement—is political freedom. Life without that is no life. It is idle therefore, to think of matters which are manifestations or developments or embellishments of life.

" Education can only profit a living being. A human being instructed on the lines on which certain beasts or animals are instructed, can, like the latter only respond to the calls of his master. The master wants them to salute; they salute. The master wants them to dance, they dance; the master wants to do any other job for him, they do it. Their will and intellect are always subordinate to the master. Independent of the master, they have neither will nor intellect. Education under these circumstances, they maintain, is a degrading of human faculties and a travesty. In their opinion it would be best for their people to remain uneducated, rather than be educated only for the benefit and use of their masters.

“ Similarly, they think that all the schemes for social reform, for sectarian advancement, for commercial interests, are nothing more than so many devices for dividing the nation and keeping them engaged in never ending internecine quarrels. They consider this to be a misplaced dissipation of energies and a misuse of opportunities. They wish that every man and woman in India should for the present think of nothing else but political freedom. The first thing is to get rid of the foreigner. Who will rule India and how, what shape will the Government of the country take, how will the different religions and different interests be represented therein? These and other cognate questions do not trouble them. They believe that as soon as England leaves India, some one will rise sphinx-like who will establish some form of national government. The time will produce the man. It would be then time to think and discuss how to improve it. They do not mind if the Hindus or the Mohammedans or the Sikhs or the Gurkhas rule India; nor whether it is the Maharaja of Nepal or that of Odaypore, or that of Baroda, or that of Patiala, or the Nawab of Hyderabad, or that of Bhawalpur, who becomes supreme; nor whether the form of Government is monarchical, or oligarchic, or republican. These questions do not trouble them. They do not, of course, want any foreign government, but if the way of eventual national freedom lies that way, they do not mind even that. Anything would be better than the present government. The British Government is slowly dissolving the nation. If they have to die, they would rather die of plague or cholera, than of typhoid or consumption. The apprehensions of disturbances of peace do not frighten them. They are sick of peace. Peace under existing conditions has unmanned the nation, it has emasculated the people and sapped their manhood. Anything rather than peace at such price. The desire for peace on any terms has been the curse of British rule. It has done them more harm than disorder or anar-

day ever did. Blessed was the disorder that preceded the rise of the Mahratta power or the establishment of the Sikh Commonwealth. Blessed were the conditions of life that produced a Pratap, a Shivaji, a Durga Das and a Govind Sing. Cursed are the conditions of peace that can only produce Duffadars and Jamadars or at the most Risaldars or Kaiser-Hind-medallists." This is Hardayalism.
